



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Quarterly Journal

OF CURRENT ACQUISITIONS

VOLUME 2 + NUMBERS 3 AND 4

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OF CURRENT ACQUISITIONS

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REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

CANONS OF SELECTION

I

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHOULD POSSESS IN SOME USEFUL FORM ALL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS NECESSARY TO THE CONGRESS AND TO THE OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR DUTIES.

II

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHOULD POSSESS ALL BOOKS AND OTHER MATERIALS (WHETHER IN ORIGINAL OR IN COPY) WHICH EXPRESS AND RECORD THE LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

III

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHOULD POSSESS, IN SOME USEFUL FORM, THE MATERIAL PARTS OF THE RECORDS OF OTHER SOCIETIES, PAST AND PRESENT, AND SHOULD ACCUMULATE, IN ORIGINAL OR IN COPY, FULL AND REPRESENTATIVE COLLECTIONS OF THE WRITTEN RECORDS OF THOSE SOCIETIES AND PEOPLES WHOSE EXPERIENCE IS OF MOST IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

From the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for 1940

The Underground Press of France, Belgium, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands

IN EVERY country occupied by the Germans an underground press appeared as a part of the movement of resistance against the Nazis. Brought out with great effort in the face of all the risks involved in defying the Gestapo, these clandestine papers meant much to the people of the countries overrun by the Germans. They helped to maintain the morale of the people during the long years of occupation, they carried the news from the outside world that the Nazi censors tried to suppress, and they intensified the will to resist and facilitated co-operation between the general population and the organized resistance groups. Not the least of their services was the discussion they stimulated concerning post-war aims, the goals to be sought after liberation.

Some concrete details concerning the aims of the underground press in the countries of Western Europe, the scope of its activities and the results achieved are presented below. France and Belgium receive the most attention, because both countries are liberated and the activities of the men and women who published the underground press can be discussed freely without endangering them. Also, more samples are available of clandestine newspapers from these countries. More discretion has to be used in discussing the situation in Norway, Denmark and Holland, as the first and third have only been partially liberated and Denmark is still completely occupied; but a general account of the achievements of the underground press in these countries is given.

In all European countries the underground press is operated in the face of similar dangers and difficulties. Death or deportation is the common punishment for press workers as for other underground groups. Investigation of suspects is by the methods of the Inquisition. The toll of lives has been high. *De Frie Danske* (Free Danes), largest of the Danish illegal papers, reportedly lost nearly 100 contributors and workers through Gestapo arrests in its first two years alone. The Germans themselves adopted the technique of the underground and issued "clandestines" in order to smoke out underground workers of all professions. A most elaborately devised pseudo-clandestine publication was the French *Bir Hakeim*, which began as an ostensibly reliable resistance paper. Once established, it began to publish "black lists" and extremely distorted views on post-liberation France designed to discredit the resistance as violently revolutionary and authoritarian. Warning against this and other fake clandestines have appeared repeatedly in the authentic underground press.

The vigilance of the enemy is directed not only toward apprehension of underground editors, writers, printers, distributors and readers, but also, in the course of the economic exploitation of the occupied territories, toward appropriation of the means of publication, including newsprint, ink, printing and duplicating machinery. The work of issuing an underground paper or tract often entails an act of heroism to obtain paper and ink from secret Nazi stores before the work of composition, printing and distribution can even begin. In Denmark it is difficult even to get hold of a typewriter not registered in the German records office. Then the labor of reproducing the paper must be carried out under constant danger of detection. A French journalist recently in the United States has told of carting improvised printing presses from hiding place to hiding place, while others of her clandestine group were being seized and taken to Germany for punishment (*EDITOR AND PUBLISHER*, January 20, 1945). A Dutch paper was for a long time printed in the shop of a traitor who thought he was working exclusively for the Nazis. The loyal

Dutch typesetters got out the clandestine publication in between their other work. If no mechanical means of reproducing the papers are available, they are written by hand.

The task of distributing the publications poses special hazards because it is necessary to establish a network of distributors and then to mobilize all the readers. It is important that each paper be passed from hand to hand in order to reach the largest possible number of persons because editions are limited by scarcity of materials. The network may include a curé on his rounds or a policeman on his regular beat. The mails may be used if envelopes stamped by the Wehrmacht or a Nazi business firm can be stolen. A bundle may be smuggled aboard a steamer or concealed under the coal in the tender of a locomotive. The Dutch say, "There are three kinds of girls in The Netherlands: one saunters about the gates of the barracks; the second works men out of the country; but the third goes about with the clandestine press" (Radio Orange, August 25, 1944). The danger of transporting incriminating material for any distance has resulted in the appearance of many regional papers.

The patriots seem to take delight in including the Germans on their distribution routes. The first issue of *La Libre Belgique* was sent in a perfumed envelope to the German military governor, whose predecessor in World War I was similarly accommodated from 1914-1918. The Danish patriots see that all banned books turn up on the desks of high German authorities. To get a wider public among the Germans, the patriots insert articles in the German-controlled press or manage to fake a whole edition. A Dutch group did this on D-Day, June 6, 1944. The whole issue of the *Haarlemsche Courant*, important German-controlled daily, was faked by the underground. The French in Lyon did it on December 31, 1943, faking an edition of the collaborationist *Nouvelliste*. The Belgians sold 60,000 copies of a fake edition of the Nazi *Le Soir* on the streets of Brussels on November 9, 1943. The military commentary in this paper taunted the Germans:

According to the highest military circles in Berlin, one can say without

fear of being contradicted, even by Moscow propaganda, that the winter campaign follows the summer campaign, thanks to the autumn campaign. So that the development of those three campaigns in chronological order shows clearly that the German high command has never at any time lost its control over the proper sequence of the seasons, an element which should not be underestimated . . .

The difficulties of securing materials and of clandestine printing and distribution impose severe limitations on the formats of most publications. The majority of papers in all countries are single sheets, often with double columns to save space by permitting the use of small type. Many papers are mimeographed; some major publications are alternately printed and mimeographed; others are written by hand. On the other hand, some have achieved four to eight pages quite regularly. Brochures, twenty to thirty pages long, with colored pictures, have been prepared. But the regular papers are all necessarily small. The regularity of distribution, and the fairly standardized formats achieved by many, are remarkable accomplishments in view of the frequent need to change the appearance and alter schedules to evade the Gestapo.

FRANCE

In a country where the tradition of clandestine publication in times of censorship and repression goes back at least to the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that in the four years following the 1940 armistice a great many clandestine papers were circulated despite all hardships. The traditions of the French Revolution were also an inspiration for this widespread resistance activity. One of the early papers, its editor explained, summed up its position in its title, *Valmy*, "the first great victory of the Revolution, when the Prussians were driven from France and the Republic saved." Another took the name of the Revolutionary paper, *Le Père Duchesne*, and numbered its first issue "151st Year."

Number

Underground resistance began to crystallize immediately after the occupation in June 1940. By November, *Liberté* and

Les Petites Ailes had begun regular publication, and other papers date from early 1941. With the building up of major resistance organizational networks in 1941 and 1942, and especially after the total occupation in 1942, the underground press became a most important instrument in the struggle against the Nazis and Vichy. At the end of 1941, it was estimated that there were some twenty clandestine papers in Paris alone. By the end of 1943, a list, "not intended to be exhaustive," of underground papers that had been smuggled out of France included 122 titles. Undoubtedly, one might double that figure and not exaggerate the number of national and regional clandestine publications issued regularly in France, and these were in addition to the multitude of clandestine tracts and pamphlets dealing with specific subjects and events that were circulated throughout the country. Some of the papers, such as *Libération* and *Combat*, had separate editions for the occupied and unoccupied zones, and the latter even had a North African edition; others, such as *Le Populaire*, published various regional editions.

Circulation

Conditions of publication and distribution make possible only an estimate of the circulation of any of the papers. The size of the editions varied, of course, with the facilities of the publishing groups. An extreme instance is the first issue of *Valmy*, fifty copies produced with a child's printing set. At the other extreme is a statement in *Combat* of November 15, 1943 that 300,000 copies of that issue had been printed. The circulation of this paper in 1942 was estimated variously from 68,000 to 80,000 fortnightly, and in May 1943, its total monthly circulation was said to be about 200,000. Other papers were variously said to have circulations respectively of 5,000 a month to 100,000 fortnightly, with a number of the major resistance papers estimated to have a fortnightly or monthly circulation of about 80,000.

Character

Within a framework of solid opposition to the Nazis and Vichy, which largely crystallized about General De Gaulle as the symbol of unity, the French clandestine press exhibited a wide range of character and emphasis. A relatively small group can be classified under categories persisting from pre-war French life. *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*, the organs of the communist and socialist parties respectively, continued as underground publications. Other underground papers were evidently of communist or socialist inspiration, and a very few seemed to emanate from sources representing a pre-war conservative political position. But all of these papers, because of the unity of the resistance on basic issues, tended to lose much of their distinctive character definable in terms of the old political alignments.

Underground papers speaking for and addressed to the trade union movement constitute another group reflecting pre-war organizations. Some represented different tendencies within the trade union movement, but all focused on unity and on rallying the workers, and indeed all members of industry, to resist: "Strikes, sabotage, the fight against deportation for forced labor, are directed against Hitler. Unity of all the French in industry: Workers, employees, foremen, employers—action against the enemy!" (*Action*, October 1943). Here again, the distinction between trade union and other resistance papers becomes blurred. Since the working class came to be recognized as the backbone of resistance, many of the papers not of trade union origin came also to address themselves in large part to this group.

Two publications, *Les Cahiers du Temoignage Chrétien*, brochures published at intervals of a month or two, and a single sheet of paper written in more popular style, set forth a specifically Catholic philosophy of resistance, based on the opposition of Christianity to the social, legal and racial theories and practices of Nazism.

The great mass of the underground publications falls, however, under the heading of "pure resistance" papers, since

they were the organs of groups of people drawn often from all classes and representing the widest variety of economic, political and religious views. Communists and Catholics, conservatives and socialists, intellectuals and workers, were drawn together in the practical working relationships of the resistance. The papers which spoke for or addressed such resistance groups necessarily cut across the usual pre-war categories and focused on the major preoccupations of the entire body of resistant Frenchmen. Allegiance to General De Gaulle, as the rallying point of the resistance, and support of the French Committee of National Liberation further reduced divergencies. The papers did possess their own special characters, and it is possible to differentiate among the various resistance groups they represent, but these differences were within a relatively narrow range and can often be expressed only in terms of differences of degree of militancy and of more or less extreme positions in a scale of almost universally "left" political and economic emphasis. Thus, the various papers associated with the Front National, a resistance organization said to have strong communist leadership, but including a large non-communist membership, usually cannot be distinguished ideologically from other resistance publications.

Some underground papers gave rise to resistance organizations; others were formed as the propaganda media of already functioning resistance movements. The increasingly close organizational relationships of the various resistance movements can be followed in such developments as the merger of two early papers, replaced by *combat*, or the appearance on the mastheads of this paper and other leading underground papers such as *Libération*, *Franc-Tireur* of announcements that they were organs of the MUR (Mouvement Unis de Résistance) or the even more inclusive Mouvement de Libération Nationale.

But in addition to the general resistance papers, there were dozens of special publications, dealing with some special phase of resistance activity, or addressed to some particular group,

social, economic or professional. For example, the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans, the paramilitary organization attached to the important resistance movement, the Front National, had its own publications, such as *France d'Abord*, concerned largely with reports on active sabotage, news of the *maquis*, discussions of the war on the various fronts and calls to militant resistance. In 1944, as the *maquis* became transformed into the French Forces of the Interior, the FFI, this affiliation appeared on the masthead of these publications. There were even mimeographed news sheets produced and distributed under the primitive conditions of the *maquis*.

The range of publications addressed to particular social, intellectual and professional groups can only be suggested. Each paper gave news of interest to its particular class of readers, described successful resistance activities of people like themselves, and called on them to engage in similar resistance. Among such papers were: *L'Université Libre*, "Organ of the University Committees of the Front National"; *Le Palais Libre*, "Organ of the Lawyers' Resistance"; *La Voix du Mineur*, the miners' paper of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais region; *La Résistance Paysanne*, organ of a national farmers' group; *Réfractaire*, "national organ of liaison and coordination of the committees for the aid of defaulters" from the labor draft; *Le Médecin Français*, the physicians' publication; *Victoire*, "monthly journal devoted to resistance for prisoners of war and deportees"; *Lumière*, "organ of the professional committee of the National Movement Against Racism"; the acidly humorous *Le Gaulois*, "organ of the Smiling Resistance"; and various papers addressed to women and to youth groups. A copy has been examined of *Sport Libre*, "national organ of patriotic sportsmen."

Even a clandestine news sheet produced in a prison camp, where hostages were being held under horrible conditions, has been reproduced by *Les Documents* (Service des Publications de la France Combattante, No. 38). *Les Lettres Françaises*, the literary journal of the Committee of Writers, in 1944 incorporated *L'Ecran Français* and *La Scène Française*, the

motion picture and theatre resistance papers. (Literary activity was not only represented by this and two other literary periodicals, but also by the clandestine publication of books. Fiction, poetry and belles lettres were included in the works published by "Les Editions de Minuit" and the "Bibliothèque Française," but that is another story.)

Themes

"Liberation from the external enemy, liberation from the National Revolution"—the internal enemy, Vichy—the slogan of one of the papers, sums up the underlying aims of all. In the early period of the German occupation, when there was still some confusion about the role of Petain, the first part, opposition to the Germans, received more emphasis, but soon the debunking of Petain and bitter attacks on Laval after his advent to power became major themes. In the later years, assuming popular awareness of Vichy's role, the papers were concerned with practical measures of resistance to both the internal and external enemies. After the middle of 1942, the evasion of the labor draft and deportation to Germany became a constant theme; young men were encouraged to go into hiding and the population was called on to help them in every way possible. News of successful acts of sabotage—"What," as one paper headed this section, "the Censor Wants to Suppress"—was a regular feature of most of the papers and undoubtedly did much to raise morale. Accounts of the undaunted martyrdom of French patriots and warnings addressed to men and women collaborators—giving their names, addresses and forms of collaboration—contributed to feed the readers' indignation and determination to resist.

Most of the papers devoted space to major developments on the fronts, but it is clear that on the whole the French depended principally on clandestine radio listening for day-to-day news of the outside world and that the papers treated mainly major military and international political developments. The important news function of the underground papers was thus to serve as sources of news relevant to the needs of local resistance.

Beyond this, the underground papers served principally as organs of opinion. Discussions of the plight of France, declarations of her continuing "grandeur," expositions of the spiritual responsibilities of the French, all played their part in propagandizing and organizing the spirit of resistance. Affirmations of faith in France's coming renaissance was another universal theme. In 1943 and 1944, as the expectation grew that the Allies would land in France, a constantly increasing number of articles was published, analyzing the economic and political needs of France and calling for a fundamental renovation of the country's economic and political structure, within a democratic system. These general views of the underground press reflected in the "Charter of the Resistance," passed by the central resistance authority, the National Council of Resistance, in March 1944. Underground papers had published and discussed preliminary versions of the Charter, to which they gave publicity, as the NCR had no special organ. Similarly, actions taken by the FCNL and the Consultative Assembly in Algiers reflected resistance views expressed in the underground press.

As the hopes for an Allied invasion of the continent increased, the underground papers publicized the measures to be taken in preparation for and during the liberation. Danger of provocation by the Germans or Vichy of premature action by the underground made necessary repeated warnings to act only on signal from Allied headquarters or the resistance. The constant theme was that "the national insurrection," which was "inseparable from the national liberation," must be a disciplined, carefully planned action. Calls to join the FFI, advice to workers in factories to form "patriotic militia" to protect French property from destruction by the retreating Germans and to maintain order, instructions to resistance groups to join in forming Departmental Committees of Liberation to take over the reins from the Vichy authorities, appeared constantly in the underground press in the first half of 1944. With the liberation came evidence that these appeals and instructions

had been heeded and had facilitated the transition to self-government.

Rebirth of a Free Press

In the clandestine discussions of plans for the new society to be forged after the liberation, reform of the press was a recurrent theme. The CNR "Charter" called for "liberty of the press, its honor and independence from pressure from the State, from the money powers and from foreign influences." The National Federation of the Clandestine Press, which claimed to represent all the principal clandestine papers, adopted a resolution calling for the expropriation of the collaborationist press and the handing over of their equipment to resistance papers. The FCNL passed a press law which included such provisions. Again, events followed—even exceeded—the plans as set forth in the clandestine press or the Algiers law. When the "insurrection" started in Paris on August 19, members of the FFI took possession of the plants of the collaborationist papers. From August 21, before the actual liberation of the city, a number of the most important clandestine papers began their careers as free publications. As *France Libre* (January 24, 1945) says of its transformation: "On August 22, under the eyes of the Boches . . . the little (clandestine) bulletin became a large newspaper and appeared in the light of day." The same story is true of underground papers in other parts of France; the first sign of liberation often was the open appearance of a clandestine newspaper.

Although some new papers are now being created and some of those that suspended publication at the time of the occupation have been revived, the French press today is largely the continuation, often with the same names and editors, of the underground press. As the crisis of the post-liberation period must be faced, these papers are beginning to be more clearly differentiated in political and economic tone, but they still share a desire for a fundamental economic and political renovation of French society, and they still demonstrate their readiness to speak out in unison against anything considered an infringe-

ment of the rights of the press—those precious rights which they had for long years maintained “malgré le Gestapo et la police de Vichy.”

BELGIUM

The first clandestine paper appeared in Belgium on August 15, 1940. Its name was *La Libre Belgique*, a veteran of World War I, which had been published as a regular paper in the period between the two wars and went underground immediately after the German occupation in 1940. In 1914–18 *La Libre Belgique* was the only regular clandestine paper published in Belgium, but in the second World War the Belgian underground press grew amazingly. There were forty clandestine papers in 1941, according to the bulletin of the Belgian Information Service, **NEWS FROM BELGIUM** (November 22, 1941). Toward the end of 1943, one of the underground papers, *Le Coup de Queue* (October 8, 1943) stated that 190 clandestines were published in Belgium, forty of them regularly, the others as circumstances permitted. The actual circulation of these papers is difficult to estimate, since each copy was passed from hand to hand a number of times. The clandestine press was supported mostly by gifts, in money or in goods, preferably newsprint, and to a lesser extent by money collected from sales.

A certain number of the “illegal” papers were peacetime newspapers published clandestinely. Others were the organs of active resistance movements engaged in direct action and sabotage. Such was the *Bulletin Intérieur du Front de L’Indépendance*, one of the most active and important resistance movements. It was published locally in all parts of Belgium and was written either in French or Flemish, according to the language of the region.

Certain clandestine papers represented pre-war political parties. *La Libre Belgique*, now appearing as a legitimate paper in the liberated country, spoke for the Catholic Party; *Le Monde du Travail* was a socialist paper; *Le Drapeau Rouge*, communist. Some of them concentrated on a special aim,

such as the denunciation of traitors and appeals for their punishment: *L'Insoumis* described itself as a "Monthly Bulletin of Information and Fight against Unworthy Belgians." The bulletin of another very powerful resistance movement, The White Brigade, bore the title "X9; Combat Paper of the White Brigade; Information and Punishment." *J'accuse* fought racism. Belgian youth published its own clandestine, *Jeunesse Nouvelles*. Several of the professions and trades published theirs: *Justice Libre* represented the Belgian Bar, *Nos Ecoles*, the teaching profession, *Le Paysan*, agricultural workers, and *De Spoorman*, the railwaymen. A few of the clandestines, such as the CHURCHILL GAZETTE, "published by permission of the British censorship," tried to lighten the dreariness of life under the Germans by publishing caricatures (some of them signed by well-known artists), jokes and satirical poems. A certain number of clandestine papers written in German were found on German soldiers in Belgium, and there are strong indications that they had been published by the Belgian resistance and distributed to Nazi troops.

In the words of the *Bulletin Intérieur du Front de L'Indépendance*, the main purpose of the underground press was "to gather *all* the Belgians, regardless of class or opinion, in a compact bloc against the invader and his contemptible lackeys." All papers urged the Belgians to resist and evade German deportation measures, to boycott the German-controlled press; they fought and unmasked German and collaborationist propaganda. They denounced the traitors, by name and deed, and demanded their punishment, and sometimes reported acts of justice which the resistance had executed. Never losing sight of its main and most urgent objective, to guide and stir up resistance, the clandestine press kept its readers informed on the best methods of sabotage, or on the particular kind which was demanded at certain times and reported on acts of sabotage already committed. Its best morale builder was its remarkably prompt and accurate news service, telling the people cut off from the outside world about Allied victories and the stupendous output of Allied factories.

When occasion demanded special manifestation of Belgian patriotism, the clandestine paper organized them long months ahead, formed local committees and gave them detailed instructions.

The patriotic press coined the slogans which were to stir the population to such acts of resistance as those which finally culminated in a general insurrection at the time of Belgium's liberation. The Independence Front spread the following appeals:

Belgians! Prepare your arms for the national insurrection. Patriots, act, fight, sabotage! Enough attentism, we want action!

A single peril: Hitler.

A single objective: Liberation.

The only way: Fight.

Patriots, arise. The country calls you.

After Allied victories had given the prospect of liberation a sense of imminence, the Independence Front demanded a maximum of effort, yet giving the people to understand that their leaders fully realized their plight and the extent of the sacrifice asked of them:

Patriots! For three years you have known the worst sufferings, the most tragic humiliations; you have endured hunger, cold, anguish. But your soul has hardened in the struggle. Three years ago, you were stunned by defeat. Today you live in the certainty of victory. But that victory must be won, not by the United Nations alone, but also by the oppressed peoples whose duty is to assist them.

Preoccupations for the Future

Apart from their concern with the immediate problems of the war, the clandestine papers anxiously studied the means of avoiding a repetition of the catastrophe which had struck Belgium twice in a lifetime. They were generally agreed on the need for profound social and economic reforms and repeatedly demanded that, after the war, trusts and cartels should be broken up and big industry and finance forever deprived of the political power which they had enjoyed and so badly misused. One paper demanded drastic punishment for "the big industrialists who betrayed their country in cold

blood, from the very first day of the invasion—and for more than thirty pieces of silver apiece!" *La Libre Belgique* expressed the determination of resistance workers to secure a better future:

Who will win the peace? The Russians and Communism? The Anglo-Saxons and Capitalism? No! The peoples of the world, plunged in the same distress, inspired by the same hope, the peoples who have wanted peace and who have won it, as they have won the war, the peoples of the world restored to the light of liberty, their souls enriched by the blood which has been spilt in the four corners of the earth . . .

NORWAY

The Norwegian underground press, next to the radio perhaps the greatest factor in holding together a loyal Norwegian home front, came into being during the summer of 1940. The fighting on Norse soil had been abandoned, the King and Government had left the country and the Norwegian people were notified that their Government intended to carry on the struggle from abroad. The regular or legal press had been taken over by the Nazis. Norwegians familiar with the conditions under which Norway had been evacuated soon began to explain the circumstances in chain letters circulated among friends or in mimeographed news sheets. Thus King Haakon's and Prime Minister Nygaardsvold's appeals to the Norwegian people to keep faith, as well as General Ruge's Order of the Day, were reproduced and distributed.

Types and Distribution

Today hundreds of underground newspapers and news sheets are being distributed inside Norway. The number of underground papers can be compared to that of the regular papers in peacetime. Circulation varies from about 200 to several thousand. Some are news sheets to be digested and passed on in a hurry, while others bring news only as summaries and devote most space to commentaries. Certain papers appeal to limited groups or professions such as *Advokatnytt* (Lawyers' News), *Bonden* (The Farmer), *Juristnytt*

(Lawyers' News), *Legesbulletinen* (The Doctors' Bulletin), *Norsk Ungdom* (Norwegian Youth). The Norwegian underground press has also nourished the national sense of humor by holding the Nazis up to ridicule through the publication of anecdotes, and a humorous paper, *Norwegische Zeitung*, ridiculing the Germans, has been issued recently. Knowing they reach different audiences, the papers often reprint each other, which is standard Scandinavian practice. There are a few "national" newspapers; most of them are "locals" so that the people get the news when it is fresh.

Domestic news finds its way quickly to the editorial offices of the Norwegian underground press, no matter from what part of the country it comes. Home front news is often transmitted first to London, and from there it is radioed back to Norway for those few Norwegians who managed to save their radios and especially the editors of the underground press. The Norwegian information services also use the BBC's facilities to broadcast world news systematically to the underground listeners.

More Important Papers

Two of the outstanding illegal papers, the authoritative *Fri Fagbevegelse* (Free Trade Unions) and *Bulletinen* (The Bulletin), are also the underground's oldest, both of them being first published during October of 1940. Two other important ones are *Kronikken* (The Chronicle) and *Fritt Land* (Free Country). These are called the "big four" papers. They rarely achieve printed or highly finished formats. Several communist papers have been able to print their publications.

Folkets Frihet, once an underground paper, has now become the regular newspaper in liberated Finmark, which is the northeasternmost county of Norway. It looks like the underground paper it used to be with one important exception—the name of the editor appears boldly on the front page. Not a single print shop was left in Finmark, and there is very little paper, but the *Folkets Frihet* appears daily, mimeographed as before. Each issue totals only about 100 copies, but each copy is probably read by at least fifteen persons.

Activities

The underground press is a very important factor in the Norwegian resistance movement. It has greatly strengthened the resistance against Quisling's attempts to Nazify the clergy, teachers, sportsmen, judges, lawyers, doctors and labor groups. Through the home front's Orders of the Day in the underground press, numerous effective protests have been made and boycotts put into effect simultaneously by thousands of Norwegians in all parts of the country.

In February of 1942 the Nazis decided to call up all children aged ten to eighteen for compulsory youth service and to inculcate in them the principles of Nazism. This scheme was defeated by the strong and united protest of teachers, clergymen and parents, as well as by the children themselves. The groundwork for this action was laid by the underground press.

On September 10, 1942 a secret circular addressed to quisling cabinet members which revealed Nazi intentions of setting up a Riksting (National Assembly) fell into the hands of loyal Norwegians. Immediately, the underground papers "went to press," carrying this sensational news to the people and giving detailed instructions for frustrating the plan. The result was that tens of thousands of identically worded letters of resignation from Norway's 250,000 organized workers began pouring into the offices of the Norwegian Labor Federation and the Norwegian Industrial Association, since it was through the Nazification of these organizations that the Nazis hoped to realize their plans. The unrest which followed caused Hitler to order the abandonment of the Riksting idea.

The underground press has helped thwart every Nazi attempt to register and call up Norwegians for forced labor. During January of 1944, Quisling promised to supply Hitler with three divisions of Norwegian troops. This became known to leaders of the home front, as did Quisling's scheme for calling up young Norwegians, ostensibly for "labor service" but actually with a view to sending them ultimately to the front as a part of the Wehrmacht. The underground press exposed the entire scheme. Young men accepted the advice which the

home front leaders issued through the press and "took to the hills" instead of registering for the conscription. Quisling practically conceded in June of 1944 that the boycott had blocked the labor service plans, observing that "Norwegian youths are hiding and running to the forests when we order them to work for people and country."

Plans for a Norwegian uprising against the Germans, in case such action became necessary, were circulated throughout Norway by the underground press during October of 1944. The leaflets stressed that the plans would not be carried out except when really needed, that the signal for action would be given by the home front command, and that the orders would be sent through the "free" press and the London radio. It also warned that no one should participate in the action who was not ordered to do so by the home front command and warned especially against Nazi provocations designed to touch off premature uprisings.

Post-War Aims

During recent months an increasing number of informative articles have been published dealing with the problems of the post-war period. These articles show awareness of the unstable conditions to be expected, the problems of supplies, employment difficulties and the effects of the German destruction. The articles stress that reorganization will take time, patience, unity and discipline.

The events in other countries, especially in Belgium and Greece, have caused grave concern in Norway. Hope is expressed that the high political education of the people and the solidarity developed during the years of distress will prevent any serious political disturbance in the post-war period and will stimulate Norwegians to take part in Norway's political life. The underground *Kronikken* (February 1945) urged:

Public life after the war cannot do without the idealism, zeal, and self-sacrifice that a large part of the population has displayed during the occupation. Members of the home front must present themselves as can-

dicates for the Storting (Parliament) and municipal administration. . . . Compromised politicians can do their patriot duty by voluntarily withdrawing from politics.

The underground papers stress strong adherence to the ideals of the United Nations and the hope that even the smallest nations will be given some voice in the formation of the post-war world.

The Norwegian home front in the spring of 1944 outlined its war aims, which have the full approval and support of the Norwegian Government-in-Exile:

(1) A free and independent Norway, (2) immediate and complete re-establishment of democracy, freedom of expression, legal security, and free elections, (3) repeal of old political laws, decrees, and other regulations promulgated at German behest or in the German interest; (4) immediate release of all political prisoners and the reinstatement of public officials who have been removed from their posts by the occupying power or by Nasjonal Samling (Nazi Party), (5) Nasjonal Samling members and others who have injured Norwegian interests or have profited improperly from cooperation with the occupying power are to be punished after a just trial; unwarranted war profits are to be confiscated and credited to the state treasury; (6) a purposeful, far-sighted policy with the following aims: To safeguard freedom and popular sovereignty and democratic rights; to resuscitate the country's economy and productive power; to secure necessary supplies from abroad and to make arrangements for the full exploitation of natural resources; to promote solidarity among the population; to participate actively in international efforts to build up an international order based on law; to promote the international exchange of goods and create the basis for a lasting and just peace.

DENMARK

Immediately following the German invasion of Denmark (April of 1940) and the imposition of Nazi censorship on the legal press, the underground presses began to function—turning out news sheets and chain letters designed to open Danish eyes to the German exploitation of the country. These first papers, like those of other countries occupied later, carried details of patriot sabotage, gave guidance on the most effective forms of resistance, and recorded for post-war settlement the names of Danish collaborationists and traitors.

By the summer of 1943, the number of underground newspapers was over thirty, some appearing regularly and others intermittently. Their estimated monthly circulation was 120,000 copies (*Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, June 25, 1942). Even the Danish Nazi paper *National Socialisten* (June 4, 1943) admitted their effectiveness: "It is understandable that so many of our compatriots have ceased to think independently, considering that they get everything served up by the illegal press." In the fall of 1944, every large Danish town reportedly had its own illegal paper, about 100 of which were said to be in general circulation.

Illegal Books

Pamphlets dealing with important political questions are published, such as the innocuous-appearing "Handbook of Irrigation," which actually contained articles by leaders of the United Nations and even a collection of Hitler's speeches entitled "Lying is also a Science." The Allied booklet "Target Berlin" likewise appeared inside the paper cover of the Danish railroad timetables.

Up to the summer of 1944, a million copies of books had been illegally printed in Denmark (DANISH LISTENING POST, December 1, 1944). Three-fourths of these had been issued since the Germans took complete control of Denmark on August 29, 1943. Books by British, American, Norwegian and Russian authors, in translation, have been published, as well as new ones written by Danes. Among the books published by the illegal press were: Willkie's ONE WORLD, Rauschning's MEN AROUND HITLER, Steinbeck's THE MOON IS DOWN and Wanda Wasilewska's THE RAINBOW.

Organization and Backing

Among some thirty-five of the most prominent illegal papers in Denmark which have been examined, five are Communist. The largest, *Land og Folk* (Country and People) and *Frit Danmark* each boast a monthly circulation of approximately 35,000 copies. Dansk Samling sponsors several large papers

including *Niels Jyde's Breve* (Niels Jyde's Letter), a news letter discussing particular political problems, and *Kirkenes Front* (Church Front) which is directed to the Danish clergy. The Conservative Party is connected with the largest paper, *De Frie Danske* (60,000 copies monthly), and other large ones including *Studenternen Efterretningstjeneste* (Students' Information Service), published mainly by KU, the Conservative Youth Organization. *Danske Presse* (48,000 copies monthly) is reportedly the only large Social Democrat paper.

During the summer of 1943, a central news agency for the illegal press was set up. Although little is known of this agency, it may be assumed that it works closely with the Freedom Council, a focus of organized underground resistance in Denmark. The Freedom Council communiqües are carried in illegal papers, and the Council is closely connected with the Danish Press Service (DPT) in Stockholm, from which the outside world has been receiving news of events in Denmark. Sources of information drawn upon for clandestine publications cannot be described until after Denmark's liberation. Foreign broadcasts—Swedish, BBC, and United States—are important sources, and the papers themselves frequently carry items attributed to ABSIE and other Allied radios, as well as print the schedules of foreign transmissions. A part of the material used is undoubtedly furnished by Danes working in Sweden. A number of clandestine newspapers may well be published in Swedish cities and illegally distributed in Denmark. British, United States and Soviet information agencies also furnish illegal editors with material, in addition putting out their own bulletins for clandestine use: *Nyheter Fra Storbrittanien* (News from Great Britain), *Nyheter Fra Sovjetunionen* (News from the Soviet Union), and *Fotorevy*, a United States picture magazine. It is not known how much co-operation may exist between the Danish Council in London, a group of Danes and British citizens of Danish origin whose propaganda activities have aided the Danish cause, and the underground press inside Denmark and in Sweden.

Activities

On the whole, the underground papers in Denmark have closely followed Allied lines and have allowed party politics to be submerged in the interests of national unity. However, the Communist Party, which was outlawed by German pressure in 1941, has presented its party line in the papers which it sponsored, and another exception is the small resistance party Dansk Samling which has probably caused some resentment by carrying a certain amount of party propaganda in its papers.

The illegal papers demonstrate remarkable unity in keeping the Danes informed on the true state of affairs in Denmark and outside, and also show very great variety in subject matter and ingenuity in countering Nazi propaganda. During the crisis of August 1943, when the Danish Government ceased to function, *De Frie Danske* issued daily bulletins to help the Danish people follow developments. In March of 1944 a *De Frie Danske* correspondent in Berlin smuggled out photographs of bomb damage in the German capital. Copies of the front page of the newspaper carrying these photos were posted all over Copenhagen, attracting interested crowds before the Germans could remove them. When a series of photographs of informers with criminal records appeared in this paper during May of 1944, Dagmarhus (Gestapo headquarters) was forced to order the Danish police to destroy all pictures in its criminal files. The "invasion number" of *De Frie Danske* reproduced a colored photograph of a British and American soldier and the words, "We welcome our Allies," while on the next page an article in English and Danish promised the Allies active cooperation.

Another paper, *Danske Tidende* (Danish Times), issued a 24-page May Day (1944) edition in color with reproductions of photographs from the press of the free world. One, *Frit Danmark*, published a sensational document (April 3, 1944) saved from the bombed Danish Legation in Berlin containing Berlin Minister Mohr's detailed reports on German recruiting and conditions in Danish work camps. During the Copen-

hagen strikes (July 1944) underground papers kept the man in the street informed of the latest developments and carried Freedom Council instructions to the people. The student paper *Studenternes Efterretningstjeneste* alone is said to have distributed 75,000 handbills. According to latest reports, a daily paper called *Morgenbladet* (Morning Paper) has put in a recent appearance, as has an underground humor publication, *Muldvarpen* (The Mole), dealing with the Germans in a typically ironic Danish tone.

During October of 1944, the editor of the German-controlled Danish paper, *Social Demokraten*, stated:

The people lack confidence in the so-called legal press. All know what articles are ordered to be published by the Germans. The confidence in the illegal papers is so great, however, that if an incorrect statement occurs, it is practically impossible to have it refuted. This puts a great responsibility on the illegal publishers.

Post-War Plans

As early as November of 1943, a special edition of *De Frie Danske* carried the Freedom Council's post-war plan, which has been much discussed in all illegal papers. This plan called for a "new temporary Government" to be appointed by the King after liberation "to handle such cases as require quick action, while other important legislative, judicial, and administrative measures would be postponed until the Rigsdag (parliament) can take over." More recent underground press suggestions regarding Denmark's government after liberation agree in general on the following:

(1) Immediately after liberation, a coalition Cabinet should be appointed by the King in consultation with the Rigsdag that was in office on August 29, 1943.

(2) This temporary Cabinet should represent the various groups that have functioned together during the occupation.

(3) Patriot groups inside Denmark that have contributed to the resistance against the aggressors should be represented; members of the illegally banned Communist Party should be included, as should representatives from *Danske Samling*.

(4) Organizations outside Denmark that have helped the Danish cause, such as the Danish Council in London, should also be represented.

(5) A popular election, held a few months after the coalition Cabinet is appointed, should decide the political composition of the future Danish Government.

Danish press opinions agree that one of the first undertakings of the new Government must be to rid the country of all German measures and influence, that a thorough "political house-cleaning" shall take place, and that those judged guilty of collaborating with the Nazis shall henceforth be "dead men" politically. Several papers have carried appeals that party dissensions should continue to be submerged after the occupation. Considerable clandestine newsprint has also been devoted to social and economic problems vital to Denmark: Nordic unity, the adoption of capital punishment, confiscation of war profits, internationalization of the Kiel Canal and the disposal of South Schleswig.

THE NETHERLANDS

Within three months after the occupation in May 1940 the first secret newspaper, *Vrij Nederland*, appeared in the Netherlands. By February 1944 there were at least twenty-one clandestine papers appearing regularly, besides many pamphlets and special news leaflets published from time to time as feasible. More than 150,000 copies of underground papers were being circulated at that time (BBC in French, February 16). Passing from hand to hand, the papers are read by many more persons, estimated to number in millions. Underground writers include scholars, clergymen, journalists and laymen whose fiery patriotism makes up for their lack of facility in expression. The discontinuance of a large part of the peacetime Dutch press drove many journalists into clandestine writing.

War Function

The illegal press is one of the most important means in the fight against the Germans in occupied Holland. More space is devoted to German measures and how to resist them, as well as to advice on the organization of resistance. The December

11, 1942 issue of *Vrij Nederland* explained the mission of the underground press, an explanation which provided the theme for an exhibition of underground papers from all over Europe held in London in July 1944:

We realize that we are the voice of thousands who are still silent. We are the secret pulse of our people, which feels its own heart beating in us. When we appeal to you to resist, you do not hear us but the voice of your own people, your own voice, our common past, our common hope, our nostalgia, and our faith. The reason for our existence lies in you (Radio Orange, July 27, 1944).

Nearly all papers give reviews of events in the global war, gleaned from clandestine listening to foreign broadcasts. The text of the story on Italy's collapse, in *Vrij Nederland*, reveals that the news was known throughout Holland within fifteen minutes after the announcement over the Allied radio (NETHERLANDS NEWS, November 10, 1943). Two papers dropped regularly by the Royal Air Force and the American Air Forces (WHIRLWIND and THE FLYING DUTCHMAN) are also sources of information. A great deal of space is devoted to religious subjects and essays, a feature which distinguishes the Dutch press from all other underground publications in Europe.

Prime Minister Gerbrandy credits the underground press with conveying to the Government-in-Exile "much information concerning the real state of affairs in Holland" by smuggling the papers out of the country. This information has often been used in the output of Radio Orange and in press releases. One underground paper has complained, however, that "our illegal press is supposed to have been censored by Dutch authorities in London . . . "

Peace Aims

The underground press has taken the lead in the debate on the future of the Netherlands and reflects the changed political atmosphere in that country. Much criticism has been leveled at the pre-war party system and its impotence to deal with economic distress and German aggression. A joint manifesto of moderate and progressive elements issued in July 1944 set forth a program of radical reforms for the

economic, political and social reconstruction of the Netherlands. Declaring that "liberal, capitalist production methods do not guarantee to the people social security," the manifesto asked that it should be "replaced by a system of national and international management abolishing production for profit" (*Aneta*, July 31). The manifesto further advocated a "new community of nations restricting sovereignty . . . in order to create an international order based on law and upheld by international force" (*Aneta*, July 31).

The demand to be heard in the councils of government has increased as liberation has come to some former underground papers. The Government is urgently advised to contact the resistance forces, and to abjure outdated formulas, and not only the outright collaborators but also pre-war officials who showed weakness of character during the occupation but who turned up in their old posts as soon as the Allies arrived. There is even a new weekly in s'Hertogenbosch which

intends to be the mouthpiece of . . . members of the underground movement who have been disillusioned by conditions after liberation and who wish to throw a pitiless searchlight into the night of this chaos and on all bad conditions in the town and elsewhere. They want to accuse all those who are responsible and who despite the great importance of the present period . . . play with the interests and future of our community (*RESURGENT NETHERLANDS*, Allied-controlled, January 10).

Throughout the period of World War II the Library of Congress has been assiduously acquiring copies of the underground newspapers which have played so important a part in the opposition to Nazi conquests. For obvious reasons this collection has been restricted in use, but future historians of the conflict will find it a valuable source of information on that phase. The collection now numbers 1,975 issues belonging to 406 different publications and the following table shows the distribution among the countries represented:

	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Pieces</i>
Denmark.....	33	193
Estonia.....	5	10
France.....	228	789

	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Pieces</i>
Greece.....	25	253
Italy.....	2	10
Latvia.....	2	2
Lithuania.....	12	69
Luxembourg.....	1	1
Norway.....	41	374
Poland.....	57	274
<hr/>		
Total.....	406	1975

NOTE ON AUTHORSHIP

This article was prepared by members of the staff of the Bureau of Overseas Intelligence of the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information. Dr. Louise Rosenblatt wrote the section on France, Mrs. Jeanne Gray that on Belgium, Miss Ella Johnson that on Norway, and Miss Sally Waters that on Denmark. Mrs. Harriet Mattusch wrote the section on Holland and did the general editing of the report.

The Bill of Rights Comes Home

ONE of the most important documents in the world's long struggle to establish and secure the basic rights of men to individual liberty has—after more than a century and a half—come home.

No other piece of immortal parchment is more appropriately a part of the collections of the Library of Congress than the original copy of the American Bill of Rights which was presented to the nation by Mr. Barney Balaban, of New York, on February 21, 1945. When Mr. Balaban, in the presence of representatives of the Cabinet, the Supreme Court and the Congress and other high officials of the Federal Government, placed this manuscript on the specially constructed altar where it is now displayed in the Main Exhibition Hall of the Library of Congress, he returned to the Congress of the United States, through its Library, what is possibly the most important document ever to originate in that legislative body. Unlike those otherwise closely cognate originals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, which are also in the Library of Congress, the Bill of Rights is a *Congressional* document. As such, it is especially fitting that the Library of Congress should now possess this timeless symbol of the fulfilment of the American people's faith that their representatives in the Congress could, would—and will—govern without encroaching upon the personal freedom of the citizens they are elected to serve.

In passing the Joint Resolution which proposed the adoption of the Bill of Rights as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, the Congress demonstrated by one of its first legislative actions that it intended to keep faith with the

people. The Constitution had been ratified without a Bill of Rights, but many of the state ratifications had expressed "confidence" that amendments guaranteeing the rights of the individual would be initiated by the Congress. The document presented by Mr. Balaban represents the response of the first Congress to this trust which the people had reposed. That this document, more than 150 years after its origin, should be placed on public display in the Library of Congress while the nation is engaged in the most devastating war of history is, in itself, convincing proof that subsequent Congresses have also "kept faith" with the people.

Before describing the document, therefore, it seems essential to trace its origin with a view to a better understanding of its significance. For, as is true of any document, the real worth of the Bill of Rights is determined neither by the parchment on which it is written, nor even by the words it bears, but by the effect it has had upon the American people and their spiritual traditions and way of life.

* * *

On the third Saturday in September in the year 1787, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, a group of weary men, representing twelve of the States, drew to the end of a long day of debate over the wording of a document before them. Still spirited, despite the fact that yesterday their convention had entered its fifth month, they turned to consideration of the last uncompleted portion of the text they were drafting. Into the minds of many at this point must have flashed the immortal words of Jefferson:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"From the consent of the governed." Eleven years previously, on an unforgettable Thursday in July, eight of the members of the present Constitutional Convention had signed these uncompromising words of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence. It was not likely that a constitution proposed by men who, in defense of the Declaration's ideals, had so recently and in the same Hall pledged "to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor" would ignore the philosophy behind those words. And the men who drafted the Constitution did not ignore it. The last action of the Convention before agreeing to the Constitution as amended, and ordering that it be engrossed, was to approve the fifth article, which provides for amendment:

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress . . .

In these words the framers of the Constitution provided a method of insuring that the Government it established would continue to be a government of, by and for the people, a government that would govern justly "from the consent of the governed." The procedure thus established has been called "one of the most novel and ingenious developments ever recorded in the history of the art of government," because it enables the people governed to alter their government peaceably as they see fit.

On the following Monday, September 17, 1787, thirty-eight of the forty-one remaining deputies signed the engrossed copy of the Constitution of the United States. This original has been in the custody of the Library of Congress, enshrined with the original engrossed Declaration of Independence, since 1924. Although the document produced by the Constitutional Convention has been found, after a trial of more than 150 years, "to approach more nearly the symmetry of the Law that rules the universe than any other emanation of the human mind and will," it was, in the eyes of almost all of the delegates, a "bundle of compromises . . . a mosaic of second choices accepted in the

interest of union." Three of the deputies to the Convention flatly refused to sign and various others agreed to sign only to indicate that the document had the approval of all of the *states*, although it did not have their personal approval.

The rules adopted by the Convention had included a provision that "nothing spoken in the house be printed, or otherwise published, or communicated without leave," and newspaper comment during its session had necessarily been speculative. Publication of the signed Constitution, however, brought forth considerable public discussion. Almost immediately an extensive and virulent opposition was expressed in newsletters and pamphlets, and ratification became more difficult as discussion progressed. Although opposition also was based upon several other factors, the most widespread and effective criticism of the proposed Constitution resulted from the people's concern over the omission of a bill of rights.

Jefferson, who had succeeded Benjamin Franklin as minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Versailles, followed the sittings of the Constitutional Convention as closely as possible from France, and in his correspondence to friends expressed his concern over the absence of such a statement, "providing clearly and without the aid of sophism, for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction of monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land . . ." After receiving a copy of the proposed Constitution, he wrote, "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth."

But the most formidable single opponent of the Constitution was Patrick Henry, beloved Revolutionary patriot whom Byron has called "the forest-born Demosthenes who shook the Philip of the seas." Again, Henry was uncompromising. "The first thing I have at heart is American liberty; the second thing is American union," he said. "A Bill of Rights is indispensably necessary. I trust that the great objects of religion, liberty of the press, trial by jury and every other sacred right will be secured before we agree to any Constitution."

Bent primarily on shaping the urgently needed strong central government, the Constitutional Convention was unwilling to go beyond the guarantees of individual liberty it had written into the Constitution in the provisions limiting the power of Congress, establishing the writ of habeas corpus, prohibiting ex post facto laws, and clearly defining what should constitute treason. As the Convention was drawing to a close, on August 20, 1787, Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, had moved a series of propositions which were essentially a bill of rights, but they were referred to a committee and apparently forgotten. Several weeks later, on September 12, George Mason, of Virginia, asserted the need for the incorporation of such a bill of rights, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, moved that "a committee be appointed to prepare a bill of rights." The motion was, however, overwhelmingly rejected, the vote, taken by states, being unanimously against.

In the ratification contest, however, the absence of a bill of rights became a powerful weapon for the cause of the Anti-federalists. The common man of America, having just completed years of bloody sacrifice to obtain his freedom, wanted more than order and authority. Individual liberty had come to mean more to the people than a strong government, and their spokesmen insisted that they were entitled to a written guarantee of their freedom. Ratification of the Constitution was ultimately achieved without the previous inclusion of the Bill of Rights, but only as the result of a compromise by which the resolutions of the ratifying conventions committed the supporters of the Constitution to seek such amendment in the First Congress.

The first five ratifications had been given by Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia and Connecticut, in that order, without qualification. In the Massachusetts convention, which came next, a real crisis developed. It was here that the proponents of the Constitution devised the remedy which, adopted by other conventions, made ratification possible. In a very real sense, the solution found by the Massachusetts convention is the reason for, and the immediate cause of, the

ultimate adoption of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Since the system of amendment proposed by the Constitution would only become operative after it had gone into effect, the only way that a bill of rights could have been added before ratification was through the calling of another convention. To avoid this necessity, the Massachusetts legislature decided to propose amendments, not as a condition of ratification, but as a recommendation to the New Congress that "the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said constitution . . ." Nine amendments were proposed,

And the convention do, in the name and in behalf of the people of this commonwealth, enjoin it upon their representatives in Congress at all times, until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered agreeably to the fifth article of the said constitution, to exert all of their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the said alterations and provisions, in such manner as is provided in the said article.

The Massachusetts ratification was given only after these instructions had become a part of the instrument, by the narrow margin of 187 to 168 votes. All of the states which followed Massachusetts in ratifying in 1788 except Maryland added similar proposals for amendments to their ratification. The number and nature of the amendments proposed varied with each convention, ranging from South Carolina's four to New York's thirty-three. Many of the changes recommended had to do with structural changes in the Constitution itself, as well as with a bill of rights. In North Carolina the convention, by a resolution passed August 1, 1788, called for the addition of a Declaration of Rights, "asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people," plus some twenty-six other amendments, and made the acceptance of both of these proposals a condition of ratification. New York and Virginia, while both ratifying, called, without success, for another convention.

Even before the latter two states had ratified, however, less

than a year after the Constitutional Convention had adjourned, the convention of New Hampshire passed the ninth ratification on June 21, 1788, and the Constitution was thereby established as the supreme law of "those states so ratifying the same." The demands of the state conventions for a Bill of Rights were immediately brought to the attention of the First Congress, which held its first sitting in April 1789. In his First Inaugural Address, President George Washington took pains to remind the Congress of the desire for amendment:

Besides the ordinary object submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the System, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a United and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

By an odd quirk of circumstance, the Bill of Rights is, more than that of any other, the work of a man who was one of the leading opponents of the addition of such a bill during the ratification proceedings. During the heated Virginia contest, James Madison, who is generally acknowledged as having the most right to claim the title of "author" of the first ten amendments, had been Henry's major opponent in support of ratification. Notwithstanding, he had written Jefferson on October 17, 1788 that

My own opinion has always been in favor of a bill of rights; providing it be so framed as not to imply powers not meant to be included in the enumeration. At the same time I have never thought the omission a material defect, nor been anxious to supply it even by *subsequent* amendment, for any other reason than that it is anxiously desired by others . . . I have not viewed it in an important light 1. because I conceive that in a certain

degree . . . the rights in question are reserved by the manner in which the federal powers are granted, 2. because there is great reason to fear that a positive declaration of some of the most essential rights could not be obtained in the requisite latitude . . . 3. because the limited powers of the federal Government and the jealousy of the subordinate Governments, afford a security which has not existed in the case of the State Governments, and exists in no other. 4. because experience proves the inefficiency of a bill of rights on those occasions when its controul is most needed . . . What use then it may be asked can a bill of rights serve in popular Governments? . . . 1. The political truths declared in that solemn manner acquire by degrees the character of fundamental maxims of free Government, and as they become incorporated with the national sentiment, counteract the impulses of interest and passion. 2. Altho' it be generally true . . . that the danger of oppression lies in the interested majorities of the people rather than in usurped acts of the Government, yet there may be occasions on which the evil may spring from the latter sources; and on such, a bill of rights will be a good ground for an appeal to the sense of the community. . . .

But although Madison had expressed such views privately, he had become, as one of the authors of the **FEDERALIST PAPERS**, associated in the public mind as an opponent of amendment. When he arose in the House of Representatives on May 4, 1789, he therefore "confounded the Anties exceedingly" by announcing that it was his intention to bring up the matter of proposed amendments in the latter part of the month. It was not until June 8th, however, that he was permitted by the pressure of other business to bring forward his propositions for amendment. Declaring that he considered himself "bound in honor and in duty" to do so, he emphasized the need of quieting the fears of a goodly number of citizens by considering the measure:

I wish, among other reasons why something should be done, that those who have been friendly to the adoption of this constitution may have the opportunity of proving to those who were opposed to it that they were as sincerely devoted to liberty and a Republican Government, as those who charged them with wishing the adoption of this constitution in order to lay the foundation of an aristocracy or despotism . . . There is a great body of people . . . who at present feel much inclined to join their support to the cause of Federalism, if they were satisfied on this one point . . . There have been objections of various kinds made against the constitution . . .

but I believe that the great mass of the people who opposed it, disliked it because it did not contain effectual provisions against encroachments on particular rights, and those safeguards which they have been long accustomed to have interposed between them and the magistrate who exercises the sovereign power; nor ought we to consider them safe, while a great number of our fellow-citizens think these securities necessary. It is a fortunate thing that the objection to the Government has been made on the ground I stated; because it will be practicable, on that ground, to obviate the objection, so far as to satisfy the public mind that their liberties will be perpetual, and this without endangering any part of the constitution, which is considered as essential to the existence of the Government by those who promoted its adoption.

After considerable discussion, Madison's motion for a committee of the whole to consider his amendments was adopted by the House, but no time was set for its convening. Madison's propositions, numbering nine separate proposals, contained the substance of the present Bill of Rights and more besides. The state ratifying conventions had proposed a total of 124 amendments, and Madison's nine propositions represented the condensations and eliminations he had made after careful study. Of his proposal for amendments, Madison himself wrote on June 15, 1789 that "it is limited to points which are important in the eyes of many and can be objectionable in those of none. The structure & stamina of the Govt. are as little touched as possible. . ."

The House postponed further discussion until July 21, when Madison again requested the committee of the whole which had previously been ordered. After more debate, the House voted to establish a special committee, composed of one member from each state, and referred to it all of the amendments proposed by the states, as well as Madison's propositions. John Vining, of Delaware, was named chairman, and Madison, Baldwin, Sherman and Clymer, all signers of the Constitution, were among its members (who also included Messrs. Burke, Gilman, Benson, Goodhue, Boudinot and Gale). The committee reported seven days later, its recommendations, stated in seventeen propositions, being essentially a rearrangement of Madison's nine. The report was laid on the table until August

13 when the committee of the whole began deliberations which lasted until August 18, at which time it was reported to the House.

Madison had intended that the amendments should be incorporated in the body of the Constitution and the select committee's report had recommended likewise. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, objected to this method, however, stating that ". . . it is questionable whether we have the right to propose amendments in this way. The constitution is the act of the people, and ought to remain entire. But the amendments will be the act of the State Governments." Representatives Clymer and Stone supported him, the latter pointing out that "If the amendments are incorporated in the body of the work, it will appear, unless we refer to the archives of Congress, that George Washington, and the other worthy characters who composed the convention, signed an instrument which they never had in contemplation." Sherman's motion to adopt a substitute procedure, "*Resolved* . . . That the following articles be proposed as amendments to the constitution, and when ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures shall become valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the same," was defeated in committee of the whole, but the method of ratification he proposed was later adopted by the House. The report of the committee of the whole was considered by the House from August 19 through August 22, and a committee of three (composed of Sherman, Egbert Benson and Theodore Sedgwick) was appointed to redraft the seventeen propositions finally agreed upon. These House proposed amendments were sent up to the Senate on August 24.

The Senate debate lasted from September 2 to September 9, when after making twenty-six amendments, which, partly by elimination and partly by combination, cut the House proposals to twelve, the Senate returned the revised resolution to the House. On September 21, the House agreed to ten of the Senate changes and rejected the others, and on the same day the Senate receded from the change it had made in the article respecting apportionment, but adhered to the rest.

The committee of conference was composed of Madison, Sherman and Vining, from the House, and Ellsworth, Carroll and Paterson, from the Senate. The committee reported on September 24, recommending the acceptance of the Senate's remaining changes with certain verbal alterations and with the restoration of the right to a trial by jury in criminal prosecutions. The House accepted the conference report on the day of its submission, and the Senate concurred on the 25th. Three days later, the Committee on Enrolled Bills reported that it had examined the enrollment of the several proposed articles of amendment and had found the resolve "truly enrolled." This original enrolled resolution was signed by the Speaker, and probably by the Vice President, on the same day. It also bears the signatures of the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House, the latter at that time being John Beckley, who was afterwards to be appointed the first Librarian of Congress. This original resolution was deposited with the Secretary of State and kept in a bound volume with other acts and resolutions passed at the first and second sessions of the First Congress and is now in the National Archives. It is written on a parchment sheet measuring 71.2 x 76.1 centimeters, and is undated.

While the resolution which had passed both Houses was being enrolled, the Congress, on September 26, had passed a concurrent resolution requesting the President to send copies of the proposed amendments to the executives of the eleven states then in the union, and also to North Carolina and Rhode Island. "Copies" of the original resolution were accordingly prepared, and it appears from the surviving copies which have been examined that they were all virtual replicas of the original, being also on parchment of approximately the same size and signed by the four officials who had signed the original enrolled resolution. The copies must have been prepared quickly, as we gather from the signatures, for Congress adjourned on September 29, only a day after the resolve could have reached the President. They differ from the enrolled resolution, and from each other, with respect to the

style, lettering and size of the headings and in a few other minor matters such as lineation and occasional changes in capitalization and punctuation. These engrossed copies were transmitted to the governors of each of the states, in accordance with the request of Congress, by President Washington on October 2, 1789. It is also possible that then, or later, Vermont also was sent an identical copy. Ratification by eleven states was necessary to give effect to these amendments. The first two proposals of the Congress failed to secure the necessary approval of three-fourths of the states and, accordingly, are omitted from the Bill of Rights as we know it. On December 15, 1791 the State of Virginia became the eleventh state to ratify the last ten proposals of the resolution and the Bill of Rights became a part of the nation's supreme law.

* * *

The Library of Congress Bill of Rights original is therefore one of at least thirteen—and possibly fourteen—copies which are believed to have been made from the original enrolled resolution described above. The provenance of the copy in the Library of Congress, which Mr. Balaban purchased from a private collector and book merchant (Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach), is not known, although it is possible by elimination of those states reported still to possess a copy to assert definitely that the Library's copy must be the copy sent to one of seven, or possibly eight, states. The State of Delaware returned its copy with the resolutions of ratification engrossed thereon, and this document is now among the papers of the Department of State in the National Archives. Other copies are known to be in the possession of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Virginia, Rhode Island and New Jersey. The copies known to have been sent to Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania and Georgia are unaccounted for, although a private investigator, without disclosing further information, has reported that he has located two other copies. Whether or not the copy known to have been sent to Vermont was also a replica of the original enrolled resolution

is a matter of speculation at this time. It has been established that an "authenticated copy" of the resolution was received by Vermont, but this might not have been a parchment replica but only a printed, or literal, reproduction of the text. Moreover, in all probability, it is possible to eliminate the copy sent to North Carolina from the list of unaccounted for copies. Although there is no certain proof that this State's copy of the Bill of Rights was among the papers destroyed, it is at least highly probable that it perished in the fire which gutted the State Capitol Building, in which the state papers were housed, in 1831.

The document presented by Mr. Balaban is an autograph engrossment on vellum measuring 29½ inches in height and varying from 26¾ to 27½ inches in width. Mounted under glass in a black and gold frame, it is exceptionally well preserved. It is entirely legible, and although—as was inevitable with a document of this size—it has at some time in the past been folded, the creases have not in any way impaired its preservation.

Ranked by many authorities with the Magna Carta as a milestone in human progress, the Bill of Rights has for some time been the only basic document of American history not possessed by the Library of Congress. Learning that the Library did not have a copy, Mr. Balaban purchased this copy of the Bill of Rights in 1943 for the purpose of rounding out the national collections. In his speech of presentation, he said that he had made this gift as an expression of "humble gratitude toward the freedom found by my parents when they came to this country nearly 70 years ago, and for the opportunity provided by these amendments to our Constitution."

The presentation ceremonies took place at 11 a. m. on February 21 at the Shrine before a gathering of several hundred persons, Dr. Luther H. Evans, the Acting Librarian of Congress, accepting the document "on behalf of the Library of Congress, and on behalf of the government and people of the United States." In the evening of the same day the unusual generosity of Mr. Balaban's gift was marked further, when

Mr. Byron Price, Director of Censorship, delivered an address interpreting the significance of the Bill of Rights in wartime at a meeting in the Coolidge Auditorium of the Library. Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Assistant Secretary of State, presided. The address and the remarks delivered at both the morning and evening ceremonies have since been published by the Library of Congress.

One other fact about the Library of Congress copy must be mentioned before any description of it is complete. This is that it unquestionably has become the best known Bill of Rights original in existence. Although, strictly speaking, the original enrolled resolution in the possession of the National Archives may be regarded as *the* original Bill of Rights, there can be no question but that today the Library of Congress copy is more widely known. After purchasing it for the Library, Mr. Balaban was requested by the Book and Author Committee of the Treasury Department's War Finance Division, to permit its exhibition in connection with the Fourth War Loan. Mr. Balaban generously consented, and from the time of its purchase until it was presented to the Library it was on public exhibition at the Sub Treasury Building, site of Federal Hall, the original Capitol of the United States, where the Bill of Rights was originally engrossed and signed. Following the Fourth War Loan, Mr. Balaban further cooperated with the Treasury Department by offering to award exact collotype facsimiles of the Library of Congress copy for distribution in connection with the Department's "Schools at War Program." As a result, the students of nearly 14,000 elementary and high schools throughout the United States and Alaska have earned one of these collotype reproductions for their participation in the War Savings Bond Program. Through the Treasury Department, Mr. Balaban has presented a copy of the Library of Congress original to each school in which 90 per cent of the students have purchased at least one war savings stamp each month.

Because of this unique part which the Library of Congress copy has played in enlisting the youth of America in the pres-

ent war to defend the very principles which the Bill of Rights helped to establish, it is perhaps of all the surviving Bill of Rights originals the most deserving of an honored place beside the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparing this article I have drawn heavily for historical details upon the Hon. Sol Bloom's scholarly *HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE UNION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION*, although I have completely rewritten and rearranged, and many interpretations are, necessarily, my own. Since most, although not all, of the quotations used are not only given at fuller length but are identified in Congressman Bloom's work, I have not deemed it necessary to repeat such identifications here. I also should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Archivist of the United States, Dr. Solon J. Buck, for the invaluable assistance he has rendered in making available unpublished reference materials in the National Archives, and, in connection with the location of the other surviving copies of the Bill of Rights, for the help given me by several other members of the National Archives staff.

MILTON M. PLUMB, Jr.
Information and Publications Officer



Scene at the presentation ceremonies of an original engrossed copy of the Bill of Rights. Among those participating are (left to right) Luther H. Evans, the Acting Librarian of Congress; William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Barney Balaban, the donor; Felix Frankfurter, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States; Stanley F. Reed, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General.



HARRIET LOW

From a painting by George Chinnery (1774–1852).

The Journal of Harriet Low

FEW accounts of our relations with China in pre-treaty days (before 1842) can rival in interest or in permanent historical significance the journal kept by Harriet Low of Salem, Massachusetts during her voyage to and her sojourn in Macao and Canton in the years 1829–1834. The nine autograph volumes which comprise this work were presented to the Library of Congress in 1943 by the author's granddaughter, Miss Elma Loines of Brooklyn, New York. They were originally written for the information and delight of an older sister in Salem, and were sent home one by one, or “trusted to the waves” as the author says, as each volume was completed.

Harriet Low (1809–1877) was a sister of the merchant-philanthropist, Abiel Abbot Low (1811–1893), and of the sea-captain, Charles Low (1824–1913), who left a volume concerning his experiences on the sea, entitled *SOME RECOLLECTIONS*. Seth Low (1850–1916), a son of Abiel Abbot, was President of Columbia University in the years 1890–1901 and was the first Mayor of Greater New York. In 1836, after her return from China, Harriet Low married John Hillard (1813–1859), brother of George Stillman Hillard (1808–1879), the law partner in Boston of Charles Sumner and a friend of Hawthorne. Shortly after their marriage, they sailed for England, where they remained some twelve years and where their eight children were born. Harriet spent the remainder of her life in this country and died in Brooklyn at the age of sixty-eight. A daughter, Mary Hillard Loines, died in her 100th year as recently as April 1944. Another daughter, Katherine Hillard (1839–1915), published portions of the diary in 1900 under the title, *MY MOTHER'S JOURNAL, A YOUNG LADY'S DIARY OF FIVE*

YEARS SPENT IN MANILA, MACAO, AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE: *from 1829–1834.* There is need, however, for a complete edition, and this is being prepared in the Library of Congress.

“The eighteen thirties,” said Bliss Perry in his *LIFE AND LETTERS OF HENRY LEE HIGGINSON*, “were like one of those fine days which born New Englanders cannot help regarding as weather-breeders . . . the golden weather could not last.” The Salem trade with China was then in its heyday; the Thirteen Factories, or agencies, in Canton were more alive with British and Americans than ever before; and the historic peninsular city of Macao, ninety miles away, was a more cosmopolitan retreat and social center than it ever was to be again. For in 1834 the more than two-century-old trade monopoly of the British East India Company was abolished; other treaty ports, including Hongkong, were soon to be opened to free trade, with the consequence that Canton was to lose its unique and, in many respects, romantic features.

In the century and more which has elapsed, many works have been published by consular officials, travellers and merchants, depicting the circumscribed life in the Canton factories, and the vexatious restrictions imposed on Western merchants by Chinese officialdom; but none can equal that of this vivacious and discerning young girl of Salem in the frankness and fidelity of the delineations she has left us of the temperaments and the personal characteristics of the principal actors in the scene. Her sole rival in this respect is William C. Hunter, whose two books, *THE “FAN KWAE” AT CANTON* (1882) and *BITS OF OLD CHINA* (1885), have hitherto been our chief sources for such knowledge. Though Hunter knew Miss Low in China, and himself lived there many years, having sailed in 1825, when he was thirteen, and though he wrote with considerable care, he nevertheless did so from notes and from memory some fifty years after the events. Miss Low’s account, though admittedly repetitious, has the advantage of being a day-by-day record, uncolored by an aura of intervening years; she wrote with the event fresh in mind, it being as she says often “near the witch-

ing time of night" before she "laid by the goose-quill." Samuel Eliot Morrison, in his MARITIME HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, numbers her among those "brave ladies of the sea who, to our ultimate profit, were bitten by the literary microbe so common in New England of their day." Her sister in Salem and her brother, Abiel Abbot, kept similar journals which they exchanged for mutual profit; for in those spacious times people had leisure to reflect, and to be interested in the reflections of others.

The rather ponderous and sonorous title which Harriet Low originally bestowed on her volumes, LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF A MACAO LIFE BY A TRAVELLING SPINSTER, might lead one to suppose that we had here only another of those too lugubrious private records in which the 18th and the early 19th centuries abounded. Though occasionally, on pensive days, she ventures on profound topics and confesses whimsically, "I flatter myself that I am quite a philosopher," she writes, as a rule, in a delightfully candid manner appropriate to her years; for this "spinster," when she left her father's home on Federal Street, and waved farewell to Salem harbor "to tempt the sea" and to "sever the dearest ties for a strange land and strange people," had only a few days before passed her twentieth birthday. The diary, in fact, discloses a mind almost 20th century in its outlook, widely read and remarkably unblinkered for her time. Though contemplative and religious, as most Americans were in her day, she was encouraged by her Unitarian training to view the emotional excesses of the time with a critical eye, to think for herself, and to be mistress of her own destiny—epitomizing in this respect the prevailing New England emphasis on common sense and personal moral responsibility.

The ship *Sumatra*, 287 tons, skippered by Captain Charles Roundy (1794–1886), carried among its passengers, in addition to Harriet, her uncle, William H. Low (1795–1834), and his wife. Harriet's prime reason for going was to be a companion to this aunt in Macao during the six or more months of each year that her uncle would be occupied with

business as agent of Russell and Company in "No. 2 American Hong," Canton. The volume which depicts the long sea voyage round the Cape of Good Hope and the much-enjoyed sojourn in Manila obviously cannot be as rich in incident as those which describe life in Macao. Yet they tell us the things that a young girl would observe on such a ship, and how she and others occupied their time in these travels. Whenever Harriet and the Captain completed their daily "constitutional walk" they had fun in conjecturing how far they had gone in terms of distances in Salem village; sometimes it was thought to be "as far as the sign of the Eagle," sometimes "as far as Buffum's Corner," or sometimes "as far as Danvers Meeting House." What should a young lady report to her sister on seeing, for the first time, the too scantily clothed inhabitants of Java? "I suppose you would like to know what I thought of a Malay and how my modesty could withstand such a shock as to see a man unclad. But I agree with Bishop Heber in thinking their color serves as a covering. They seem like a different race of beings." On the home-coming voyage in a British ship, on a day when the waves ran particularly high, Harriet writes, "How many times I have wished with the sailor today that 'if Britannia rules the waves, she'd rule them straighter'. This dancing up and down and depriving one of ones rights is not to be endured with complacency."

Each age takes its figures of speech from the things it knows best. Metaphors relating to the sea came easily to the tongues and pens of New Englanders. Even their womenfolk, who went to sea only occasionally, spoke the language of mariners, and possessed an awareness of wind and weather which we, in this century, no longer cultivate. Winds were given their precise directions. A stormy day, even on land, was described as "squally"; a strong breeze was a "smacking" or a "royal" breeze. A person who had slept soundly might report that he had rested "at the rate of 10 knots" which, in those days, connoted a good hourly run.

The families of merchants doing business in Canton (then pronounced with the accent on the first syllable as our Ameri-

can counterparts still are) resided in considerable luxury in Macao, which, with a very favorable breeze, was but twenty-four hours' sailing distance away. In fact, until 1842, women were debarred, by the Co-hong system then prevailing, from visiting Canton, though a few, including Harriet and her aunt, made brief unauthorized excursions to that place. It was to Macao that the fatigued merchants in Canton looked for normal social contacts and for a breath of fresh sea air, after they had balanced their accounts and dispatched their cargoes to Europe and America. Even in that day, Macao was a European settlement 270 years old, a city dotted with ancient churches—as for example St. Paul's erected in 1602—and lavishly planted with gardens. There were majestic crescent beaches, such as the Praya Grande and Cassilla's Bay; the Peña Hill and the Campo, affording impressive views of the sea; Thomas Beale's collection of rare birds and plants; not to mention the Museum founded by a few Englishmen in 1829, or the race course; and finally the well-stocked library supervised by Dr. Pearson, the senior surgeon of the East India Company. To be sure, a wall across the peninsula, known as the Barrier, cut off from Chinese soil the three square miles which constituted Macao; but it was permissible for small parties of men and women to picnic on neighboring islands, follow the course of lovely streams, and sip tea in quiet temple courtyards. Moreover, Macao nights were something to write home about. "Passed a pleasant evening at Mrs. Fearon's," says Harriet. "We left there and got into our [sedan] chairs, but it was too pleasant to be carried, and we got out to walk. A beautiful moonlight night, and just after leaving Mrs. F.'s three Portuguese came out of a street playing sweetly upon three guitars. They walked nearly home behind us, playing all the way, and you cannot think how delightful it was. It was about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11, and Aunt and I walked on the terrace for $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after we went in. It was much too pleasant to go to bed."

In addition to the mixed Portuguese and Chinese population which resided permanently in Macao, there was the staff of

the Company (as the East India Company was always called for short) and the yet smaller colony of Americans. There was also a more transient group of two sorts: roving sea-captains from both Europe and America, and "licensed" traders whose so-called "country ships" came from Calcutta and Bombay, often with cargoes of opium. About September 1 of each year, when "ships from all parts of the world come tumbling in" with the southwest monsoon, the "gay season" of Macao began. Watching for the ships to enter the harbor, and speculating whether they carried letters from home, relieved the boredom of the womenfolk of Macao—and sometimes made them sad. "Lots of ships expected, and a fine breeze today for them—two from Bombay, but they bring nothing but opium." "I wrote [letters], studied [French and Spanish], read, and drew by turns this morning and kept the spyglass at my side, ever and anon sweeping the horizon to try and see a ship, but nothing came from anywhere." "I saw a ship passing up to Canton, from our door this morning. I watched it for a long time, hoping that I could see the stars and stripes, but could not make anything of it but an English signal." So the journal runs. In February and March of each year this process was reversed, and Harriet pensively watched the ships move out of the harbor "steering homeward to the land of their loves"—this time taking advantage of the northeast monsoon.

The great and the near-great of Macao society all came under the appraising eye of this young journalist. On the British side there was Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the first Protestant missionary to China, who reached Canton in 1807; John Francis Davis (1795–1890), later governor of Hongkong and well-known writer on China; John R. Reeves (1774–1856), the botanist; not to mention a score or more other high officials of the East India Company, its language officers, and its clerks, some of whom later became famous in China and the West. The Americans whom she met all bore well-known New England, New York and Pennsylvania names: Cushing, Forbes, Sturgis, Russell, Peabody, Coolidge, Higginson, Talbot, King,

Sullivan, Bradford, Wood, Latimer, Dunn—to mention only a few. Also there were Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801–1861), the first American missionary to China; and the eccentric but talented European, Karl F. Gutzlaff (1803–1851). All receive passing mention, often with some revealingly informative comment about their appearance, their merits, their foibles or their peculiarities. “I every day exclaim what a world this is and what funny people in it,” remarks Harriet. “You may laugh at the idea of seeing anything of the world in Macao. But I’ll assure you we see an infinite variety of characters—every variety, I am sure.” “I wish I could venture to take off every one and put them down in their true colors. Oh! what a book I should have—to note all the funny things said in this house—the inconsistencies of men! It would be as good as a play.”

The steady arrival of newcomers from India, or of ship-captains from the West, furnished new topics for conversation and gave reason for an almost constant round of teas and house-to-house visitation. On these visits the unmarried Anglo-Saxon ladies (there were only five or six of them) might not properly sally forth alone on foot, but they could go in sedan chairs—it being assumed that the bearers, who were known to the family, would be sufficient protection. Among the games played at evening gatherings were Old Maid, Whist, Loo, How do you like it, Four deep and Battledore; but card-playing on Saturday evening—when the Puritan Sabbath began—was mildly frowned on in the Low household, for it “did not suit our Yankee notions.” The home of W. H. C. Plowden, a high official of the Company, was a center for musicals; and in these gatherings the English, with their praiseworthy practice of cultivating some special competence, took an active part: Mr. Jackson played the violin, Inglis the flute, Huddleston the hautboy, still another the musical glasses, and Howard was good at impersonation. “The Accordion, a new instrument just come out,” was played at one of these gatherings in August 1832, and the music was declared to be “rather pretty.” “You would like these parties much,” wrote Harriet, “for we

do just as we like. We are not confined to a circle and allowed to speak just [only] when a gentleman chooses to address us. We have a band of music, as Mr. Marjoribanks says, to make a noise, a piano, someone plays and sings, and those who have not the power of charming with melodious sounds can walk the verandah with those they like best, sit sullen on a couch if you please, or take a book. In fact you are to suit yourself, have a little bit of supper and go home."

One musical event of some historical significance was the arrival in Macao, in the spring of 1833, of an Italian opera company whose performances on a number of occasions are featured in the diary in some detail. An actual playbill for the rendering of Rossini's *La Gazza Ladra*—which carries William H. Low's name on it—is preserved in one of the volumes. The opera was a new form of art for Harriet, whose delights she first became aware of in far-off Macao. "I was thinking how father would enjoy it, if he would allow himself to go. I am sure I can see not the least harm in it, at least [not] in such a place as this."

The really formal social event at Macao was the grand dinner and ball at the Company's establishment, located on the Praya Grande. This seems to have been a monthly affair, at least in slack time when the ships had not yet come in. The dinner began at "London hours," and often the dance did not end till two or three in the morning. There were frequently sixty and more at table—each householder being waited on by his own servant. On hot nights as many as five punkas were put in motion to keep the guests cool. The dresses which the ladies wore were made, in part at least, by Chinese men tailors; but Harriet's endeavors to instruct them in pidgin English drew from her the remark, "Wish I could run into a shop in Broadway." Nonetheless, the result could not really have been bad. "I wore my pink gauze over white satin; Caroline [Shillaber, her friend from Salem] blue satin under white lace; and Aunty a purple silk." If to this be added the information, "We had some carmine from Canton to color stockings," we can well believe her when

she writes, "The American ladies are said to be the best-dressed ladies of the place."

One can visualize these occasions now: how the ladies were each decorously "waited on to the dining-room" and "handed to table" on the arm of a gentleman—who he would be, and what his ultimate intentions were, being a matter of prolonged speculation. Unhappy the day if the wrong young man "had the impertinence to offer his arm." Dancing was a problem also, for there were so few ladies in the community that Harriet was often obliged to take a different partner for each figure of the quadrille.¹

One cannot but marvel at the clear-headedness she displayed in the bewildering social contacts which marked the entire four years of her stay in Macao. As the most eligible, and probably the most attractive young lady of the place, she had numerous beaux and not a few offers of marriage, all of which are discreetly hinted at in the journal; yet she could appraise herself and others with sufficient objectivity to withstand emotional currents that might well have swept a less self-possessed girl off her feet.

As a mirror of the life of the period, this journal rivals the great novels of the time, though it was not written with pretensions to literary style. There are the same commonplaces of social intercourse, the same diverting incidents. "The people are all stupid," says the diarist in one of her more sedate moods. "They get into the habit of talking nonsense. It would astonish you to hear the trifles that the gents interest themselves in—what they shall eat and put on seems to be the end of their existence . . . I am unfortunately fond of gentlemen of sense, and could not abide one wanting it." What she longs for fervently and repeatedly is what she calls "rational conversation." In fairness to the gentlemen, it should be said that Harriet was even more disturbed by the shallowness of the social relationships that obtained among the ladies, for the months of boredom during which the menfolk were in Canton tended to foster

¹ It is worth noting that the dance known as the gallopade was introduced to Macao at this time. It was characterized by Harriet as "very horrid."

inquisitiveness and gossip. Nevertheless, those jottings in the journal that are now most prized by us are often those which she herself regarded as unconsidered trifles. The following brief entry—though insignificant in itself—is characteristic; it concerns an important figure in Canton in that day, namely Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, a nephew of the Earl of Balcarres. “Walked home with Lindsay; he is so tall it made my arm ache awfully.” Again, “This afternoon Mr. Vachell [Chaplain of the Company] called for us to walk. We went, not being aware that the wind blew very hard, and foolishly ascended a high hill where, I am sure, it would have been much more safe to scud than to go as we did with royals and studding-sails set. Although I kept crying ‘Stand by topgallant halyards,’ it was of no avail. We were beating against the wind and, when we were at the height of the hill, my dress tangled round Mr. V.’s legs, and, in trying to extricate himself, he caught his foot in the trimming, which came very near throwing both of us over the precipice into the sea. But after much labor we weathered the gale and arrived safely under the lea of the hill.”

An unfailing topic of conversation among British and Americans was the differences in customs and idiom that, in two centuries of separation, had grown up between them. One book, among others, that brought up these differences anew was Mrs. Trollope’s *REFUGEE IN AMERICA*, which reached Macao in 1832 and which Harriet said “all the British are crowing over.” “It is as much as we can do,” she writes, “to fight for our country and our refinement.” It was, oddly enough, her belief that the book may have been purposely written to divert British emigration from the United States to Canada. Americanisms in speech furnished occasions for additional playful humor. It was gently pointed out to her that the use of the verb “fix” in the sense of “repair” was inadmissible. “Mr. Cayley says I puzzled him one day by asking if he owned such a book. They [the English] never say ‘Do you *own* a book?’, they say, ‘Have you got it?’” John Francis Davis, having had his curiosity piqued by the word “slap-jacks,” engaged one day to taste them at breakfast in the Low house-

hold. On the evening before, he remarked, "Miss Low, I shan't sleep tonight; visions of 'slap-jacks' will be before me all night." "They laugh at the name," explained Harriet naively. When Lindsay heard of it he begged her to invent "a more euphonious name."

The celebrated George Chinnery (1774–1852), painter in Macao before the days of photography, appears time and again in the pages of the journal in his accustomed role as droll humorist. Harriet described him, quite justly no doubt, as "fascinatingly ugly" and as having a face "made on purpose to tell stories." He taught Harriet to draw, and painted for posterity a noble likeness of her which was reproduced as frontispiece in the aforementioned printed volume of the journal. The picture reveals, in Charles Lamb's phrase, a "fine last-century countenance," and that "certain degree of modest assurance" which Harriet's father had told her was necessary "to show a lady to advantage." It was of this painter that Thackeray wrote in *THE NEWCOMES*, "Chinnery himself, Sir, couldn't hit off a better likeness." That he did not belie this praise, in Harriet's case, seems clear from the estimate of her friends, who regarded the likeness so perfect "they think I must have run against the canvas and left an impression." Evidently, Chinnery's friends chafed under the lack of recognition in England of this great artist, judging from the following editorial in the *CANTON REGISTER* for December 8, 1835: "This gentleman who is now resident in Macao should be ordered home by the ladies of the land in the U[nited] K[ingdom], for we can assure them, now that they have lost Sir Thomas Lawrence [who died in 1830] that they will never again look so beautiful unless under the *vivida vis* of the sparkling and magic touch of Chinnery. The knighthood would then follow as a matter of course, as having been deservedly earned and richly merited."

One of the most attractive personalities then living in Macao was the surgeon of the East India Company, Dr. Thomas Richardson Colledge (1796–1879) who, shortly after his arrival in 1827, established there an Ophthalmic Infirmary for indigent

Chinese. By the autumn of 1832 he had relieved some 4,000 patients from impending blindness. A now celebrated portrait, painted by Chinnery, shows him ministering to patients in his clinic. He is described in the journal as thoroughly English, aristocratic, fond of old customs and a man whose kindness made him universally loved. His marriage to Caroline Shillaber (1812–1880) of Salem in 1833 was the great social event of the decade. Upon his return to England, he was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. He helped to found the China Medical Society in 1837 and continued his interest in that country until his death, forty-two years later. He must have retained to old age the gentlemanly decorum of his earlier years, for his obituary in the *TIRES* states that he “won universal esteem by his courtesy and skill.”

The journal depicts Robert Morrison, not in his usual role as missionary, translator of the Scriptures and maker of the first Chinese-English dictionary, but as man-in-the-home and preacher to a small British and American community on Sunday evenings. Harriet was an acquaintance of his only daughter, Mary Rebecca (b. 1812), and conversed often with his son, John Robert (1814–1843), the gifted young interpreter for the British at the Treaty of Nanking (1842), whose death a year later was declared by Sir Henry Pottinger to be “a positive national calamity.” Some droll episodes are told of the elder Morrison’s preaching which are probably nowhere else recorded. “Had quite a large congregation. Wish he would not sing, for he don’t know how. You never heard such a noise as he makes, it quite discomposes ones gravity.” One other incident that puzzled her was the fact that “He made a prayer in Chinese, as there were two China men there.” What was a little incomprehensible to Harriet is to us a fine revelation of Morrison’s sense of obligation to his Chinese, as well as to his Western, auditors.

That this dyed-in-the-wool Unitarian was not easy to please in the matter of sermons is evidenced by her comments on other preachers in the Macao community. “A miserable preacher, almost went to sleep” is her characterization of Elijah Coleman

Bridgman, the aforementioned first American missionary to China, and able editor of the CHINESE REPOSITORY. One pointed objection to the Reverend Charles Wimperley's sermons (he succeeded Vachell as Chaplain to the Company) was that "he always sticks to the text" and consequently "nothing new is said upon the subject." In another rather critical Sunday mood she wrote, "Wished this morning that I could take my old seat in [First] Church [Salem]. What a treat it would be! I should not lose a word, I do not think, even if *Dr. Prince*² preached."

There is evidence in the journal that a slight but perceptible boundary separated the missionaries from the far more numerous mercantile community in Macao. Robert Morrison brings this fact out rather plainly in his diary, in the year 1809, when the barrier was certainly more marked than it was in Harriet's day. He then stated, "We cannot take part in the gay amusements of our own countrymen, or mix much in their society; a distant civility is all that subsists." The spirit of his daughter, Rebecca, may have suffered by a too exclusive upbringing in this point of view. Born in Macao, in the confines of a missionary compound, it was scarcely possible for her to grow up as free a personality as Harriet was. What a sad story of inner frustration we are perhaps justified in reading between these lines of the diary: "*March 5, 1833.* I went to Miss Morrison today to ask her to officiate as Bridesmaid at C[aroline Shillaber's] wedding, but she declined. She is very diffident, and thinks she has not resolution . . . *March 6.* Miss Morrison called to retract this morning, but we [had already] invited Miss Pereira, and she accepted." It is pleasant, however, to reflect that when Rebecca was thirty-five she married the accomplished medical missionary, Benjamin Hobson (1816–1873), who has the distinction of having given to the Chinese in 1851 their first really scientific treatise on the human anatomy.

² He it was who had baptized Harriet in 1813, and it was for him, according to the church records, that "all the bells in Salem tol'd $\frac{1}{2}$ hour at 2 o'clock," the afternoon of his death (1836), in the fifty-seventh year of his ministry there.

What were the books that nourished the mind of a young Salem girl in the 1830's? On Sundays, if she did not attend Worship, it was taken for granted that she would read one or perhaps two sermons from the printed collections which then circulated so widely, but which now stand mute on the shelves of our great libraries. Sermons by the brilliant Joseph S. Buckminster, who died prematurely in 1812, seem to have been Harriet's favorites, for "they make you wish to be better." Those by Channing are characterized as "most excellent," yet those by Priestley, Thatcher and other Unitarian divines were not neglected. Paley's NATURAL THEOLOGY received due attention, but we are not told what impression this much more solid work made on Harriet's mind.

As for other reading-matter, we glean the following information: "I do love history better than any kind of reading . . . but yet it always disgusts me with human nature . . . the men of the greatest talents seem to do the most mischief." By history, she meant chiefly the great biographies—those of Napoleon, Frederick the Great, the various heroes of the French Revolution, including Voltaire, Marshall's life of Washington, etc.—an amazingly large number. Books of travel in Europe and America were also read and frequently commented on. In addition, "I allow myself a novel now and then as a *sauce piquante*," though, as in Jane Austen's day, they are spoken of apologetically as something one should read only to gain material "for small talk." THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD she read for a second time, having "read it once before in the hay in Grandmother Eaton's barn." Cooper she did not always enjoy, and moreover deplored his going "out of his own country for his scenes." Her appraisal of Sir Walter Scott—written in March 1833 when the news of Scott's death reached Macao—is of sufficient interest to quote almost in full. He is characterized as one "who has done so much for the amusement of the world; and not only amused, but improved the taste of the age. How different the style of novels since his time to those before . . . they impress historical facts and characters upon our minds, which we might otherwise forget. . . Besides, how

much scandal and malice they have prevented, for they certainly serve for conversation everywhere."

Byron appears to have been in Macao, as he was in England, a point of interminable controversy—some applauding his poetry despite his unconventional conduct, others holding that poetry and conduct necessarily have something in common. That the question was, for years, a crucial one in Macao is apparent from the following entry in Robert Morrison's journal, written in November 1827: "Byron's *Don Juan* was advocated by Mr. G—— at table; the rest opposed it, and lamented his lordship's unprincipled character. * * * holds his hands over his eyes, and smiles, when I make any remark in favor of piety." Though aware of this reticence to accept Byron as a poet in the highest English tradition, Harriet was a great admirer of his verses and quoted them often in her diary. "Say what you will of Byron," was her judgment, "he could write Poetry."

Those who forget how tenuous were our contacts with the great Middle Kingdom a century and more ago—and how on the very periphery of that Empire our sea-going traders lived—will wonder why there is so little of solid information about China and the Chinese in Harriet Low's diary. Like most sojourners on the fringe of that country in pre-treaty days, her view of it was limited to Macao and one memorable visit to Canton of which she left a brief but valuable account. Only Morrison, and a few other students of the Chinese language, had then any appreciation of the fact that China possessed a culture as ancient, and as worthy of study, as any in the West. A Philadelphia merchant, Nathan Dunn (1782–1844), who traded in Canton in Harriet's day and earlier, had vision enough to open in Philadelphia in 1838–39—and later in London—an impressive museum, a "Chinese World in Miniature" which, for the first time and on a grand scale, gave ocular proof of the achievements of "this singular and secluded people." Others, to use an old comparison of the Chinese themselves, were "looking at the leopard through a tube, and seeing only one spot." The Hong merchants and compradores with whom they dealt were poor interpreters of their country's

finer achievements, being able, through the medium of pidgin English, only to distort what little they knew.

Harriet Low was cognizant of the chasm that so obviously separated the cultures of the East and the West, and moreover had something prophetic to say about it. "Walked after dinner," she once wrote. "On our return, met the Colledges and [Mr.] Blight. We sat upon a China tombstone for some time, chatting and laughing—I could not help thinking with what different feelings to what we should have sat upon the grave of an unknown countryman. It is strange, but I suppose it is because we have no sympathy, no feeling in Common, with the Chinese." She added, with an air of condescension excusable enough in her day, "We shall, or others will, see these Chinese exaulted in the scale. Their time must come I think. The barrier will be broken down, ignorance must give place to knowledge, and slavery to freedom."

The last volume dealing with her life in China bears the following inscription, written in bold strokes of the goose-quill:

AN AFFECTIONATE FAREWELL TO CHINA

Evidently more than ordinary "sympathy," more than a little "feeling in Common" had developed in the mind and heart of this observant traveller. Before embarking in the ship *Waterloo* for the long homeward voyage, she copied, without indication of authorship, three stanzas of a noble hymn—written in the august eighteenth-century manner—of which two stanzas may here be given:

We know that His presence is near,
While our bark tosses far from the land;
And we ride o'er the deep without fear
For the waters are held in His hand.

Eternity comes in the sound
Of the billows that never can sleep!
There's Deity circling us round—
Omnipotence walks o'er the deep!

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL
Chief, Division of Orientalia

The Archive of American Folk Song: Retrospect and Prospect

I

BECAUSE the notion of an archive, like that of a folk song, is inseparable in most people's minds from the idea of the past, an archive of folk song is under a double threat from the archaic and archeological. When in 1928 the late Carl Engel proposed the Archive of American Folk Song, he envisaged it (writing in *THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY*) as part of the Music Division's "rich sources and unique facilities" for the study of the "history of our own musical past," a knowledge of which he saw as the "first requisite of a national consciousness" and preliminary to the "development of a national music."

The first archivist, Robert W. Gordon, had just published in the *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE* fifteen stimulating and authoritative articles on American folk song growing out of a cross-country recording trip. Although he had a private collection of over a thousand wax cylinders, his chief interest was in the study of the origins and development of American folk song and the histories of individual songs and tunes, with special reference to the inter-relations of oral and printed tradition in folk and minstrel songs between 1830 and 1890.

By 1933, when John A. Lomax was named Honorary Curator and with his son Alan began recording Negro "sinful songs," particularly work songs and blues, in Southern prison camps, the emphasis had shifted from the historical to the sociological. To the idea of a repository (Mr. Engel's "great centralized

collection") was now added the idea of a sound library, whose further development had to wait until the establishment of the Recording Laboratory in 1940. Meanwhile, a certain contemporaneousness and urgency had entered into the task of rescuing folk songs from oblivion ("for folk songs tend to disappear with the changing fabric of the society wherein the songs have their origin"¹) and of the equally important task of making them immediately available to students. To have great collections we must have great collectors; and the Lomaxes, father and son, proved themselves masters of the art of handling informants and making records in the singers' own environment, remarkable for their showmanship as well as their authenticity. In so doing they set the pace for other Archive collectors like Charles Todd, Robert Sonkin, Vance Randolph and Fletcher Collins.

"Interest in the work of the Archive of American Folk Song," wrote Alan Lomax in 1939, "has grown steadily in recent years as part of a developing consciousness of the significance of a native culture." This broadening of the Archive's base was part of the resurgence of interest in America to which the depression gave new impetus and direction. The vast social and cultural experiments of the Farm Security Administration and the WPA provided an unprecedented opportunity for the collection and utilization of folk music and folklore on a large scale. Not only were the Archive's collections enriched and strengthened by the Special Skills Division and the Federal Arts Projects (through the efforts of Charles Seeger, Sidney Robertson and Herbert Halpert), but co-operation with these agencies enabled the Archive to extend its recording activities into Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan and to issue, in January 1937, the first "Provisional Check-list of Disks (Excluding Primitive Music) in the Archive of American Folk Song in the Library of Congress."

Perhaps more important than the product was the broadening effect of this collaboration. Native culture appeared now

¹ John A. Lomax, REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1934, p. 127.

as the people's culture, a democratic diversity of occupations and nationalities. One began to hear not only of Child ballads and mountain fiddle tunes but also of jooks, New Orleans jazz, hillbilly bands, Holiness church music, union songs, boogie woogie; not only of texts and tunes but also of documentary records giving the singers' comments and experiences; of coal miners, turpentine workers, sponge fishermen and Okies; of Finnish, Serbian, Russian and Polish as well as Haitian, Cajun and Spanish-American folk music. Attempts were made to record entire church services and folk festivals and complete repertoires and autobiographies of individual singers and families. Like Emma Dusenbury, about 120 of whose songs are in the collections, the Archive seemed to have "made a resolution to learn all the songs in the world."

But instead of giving up because "people keep on making" songs, by 1940 the Archive had gone further and conceived of its ultimate goal as the recording of the "basic oral culture" (both sung and spoken) of the United States, soon to be broadened by the war to include the Americas. The demand was also increasing from "scholars who are interested in comparative studies, college professors who have been teaching courses on American folk song without adequate illustrative records, composers who are avid for authentic renditions of American folk songs as material for their creative work, public school teachers who wish to bring their students close to American musical backgrounds," from "national educational associations, radio broadcasting companies, national associations of writers and a large section of the general public."² The "developing consciousness of the significance of a native culture" made outflow assume as much importance as inflow.

Distribution required cataloging and phonoduplication facilities. Again the WPA (together with the National Youth Administration) made possible the cataloging of 4,000 records (about one half of the present collection) and the preparation of a three-volume **CHECK-LIST OF RECORDED SONGS IN THE**

² Alan Lomax, ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1940, p. 151.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE ARCHIVE OF AMERICAN FOLK SONG TO JULY, 1940. The Recording Laboratory was established through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, which had been generous from the start, while the Rockefeller Foundation subsidized a Radio Research Project. In 1941 the first pressings were issued in an album of two records for the Friends of Music in the Library of Congress (to be followed in 1942 by six albums of thirty records and in 1943 by five more albums of twenty-five records, through a grant from the Interdepartmental Committee on Co-operation with the American Republics).

In 1941 collaboration with the Radio Research Project resulted in "The Ballad Hunter"—five 16-inch transcriptions of ten fifteen-minute programs of adventures while collecting folk songs, narrated by John Lomax and illustrated with dubblings of Archive records, and three 16-inch transcriptions of six fifteen-minute documentary programs, dealing with a Farm Security camp in California, defense activities and attitudes in Wilmington, North Carolina, and Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the Asheville Folk Festival, the effect of the TVA on Georgia mountain folk. In 1942 Alan Lomax wrote the scripts for five 16-inch transcriptions based on the albums and translated into Spanish and Portuguese for Latin American radio stations.

Through the improved facilities of sound truck and laboratory and a new technique worked out for dubbing field recordings with narration in the studio, the Archive was at last in a position to put folk music back into life, from which musicologists and folklorists had succeeded in isolating it. At the same time folk music was given its first real opportunity to supplement radio interviewing in the job of documenting and interpreting American life. The result was a contribution to folk-say and folk history—what Americans have to say about themselves and their country. Thus "developing consciousness of the significance of a native culture" was making folk song presentation as important as folk song collection in the program of the Archive.

II

In 1928 Carl Engel wrote that the Archive's task of "collecting the available material is estimated to take not less than five years" (an optimistic estimate) and "does not come within the regular functions of library routine" (a pessimistic view). Fortunately, for the future of the Archive, he was wrong on both counts. It was not until 1937 that John Lomax announced: "For the first time in the history of the Archive the Library has been able during the past year to buy with public funds a recording machine. Even more important is the fact that, also for the first time, the recent Congress made a small specific appropriation for the annual support of the Archive." In the same year Alan Lomax was appointed assistant-in-charge, the first to be paid out of Library funds. Then began the systematic work of acquiring field recordings and duplicates of other collections, public and private, and accessioning them into the Library like books and manuscripts.

The idea of phonograph records as part of a library's collections is a fairly recent one. Field recordings of American folk music and folklore differ from commercial recordings in that they are not publications or "talking books" but original documents and public records, which belong to the people of the United States. As the people's music and literature, they are also to be distinguished from sound recordings pertaining to the history of the United States, which fall properly within the jurisdiction of the National Archives. But as a documentary record—a kind of informal and unofficial history—of the American people, they come under the head of the second of the Librarian's "Canons of Selection": "The Library of Congress should possess all books and other materials (whether in original or copy) which express and record the life and achievements of the people of the United States."³

For several reasons, almost axiomatic, a central archive is essential to the study of the music of American folk song and traditional American instrumental music. In the first place, as

³ Archibald MacLeish, *ibid*, p. 25.

Phillips Barry was the first to point out in 1905, "words constitute but one-half of a folk song; the air is no less an essential part." Secondly, direct sound recording is the only scientific, accurate and complete recording, since by reproducing the individual performance and preserving the traditional style it gives flesh and blood to the otherwise dry bones of text and tune. Finally, as "Any sound interpretation of folk song can be made only on the basis of the entire field," in Robert W. Gordon's words, large-scale, nation-wide collection and preservation alone can provide a maximum of variants for comparative study.

But the very scope of the undertaking is responsible for the many difficulties that beset it. Folk song research, according to Phillips Barry, is "ceasing to be a one-man job; it calls for an organization with a staff of properly trained research specialists." More than that, folk song recording has gone beyond the amateur stage and should be organized on a professional basis, to prevent duplication, waste and misdirected effort. What was formerly an individual task, haphazard and piecemeal, subject to all the whims and perversities of private collectors who came to look upon folk song as their private property, should be collective, co-operative and comprehensive, with as short a distance as possible between collection and utilization.

We also need to know much more about the history of individual songs and singers, why people sing, how they learn their songs and why songs live and die. Only in this way can we learn to use folk songs, not only for greater understanding of American life but also for greater joy of living. What impresses us most about American folk music as we listen to these Archive records is its tremendous vitality and variety, an upsurge of energy, a complexity and multiplicity of content, function, and style that belies the common assumption of the simplicity of folk song and that reflects the diversity of American life. This is the American rhythm, the American declamation, the American experience. It is a rich and wonderful heritage, and the job of preserving it and making

it better known and more widely understood and enjoyed calls for a program of popular education in which the Archive should lead rather than follow. The philosophy of this program of acquainting America with its wealth of oral tradition is a simple and practical one—to give back to the people what belongs to them.

B. A. BOTKIN

Chief, Archive of American Folk Song

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Album IV. "Afro-American Blues and Game Songs," edited by Alan Lomax.

Album V. "Bahaman Songs. French Ballads and Dance Tunes. Spanish Religious Songs and Game Songs," edited by Alan Lomax.

Album VI. "Songs from the Iroquois Longhouse," edited by William N. Fenton.

Album VII. "Anglo-American Ballads," edited by B. A. Botkin.

Album VIII. "Negro Work Songs and Calls," edited by B. A. Botkin.

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I. "Baladas Tradicionales."

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III. "Bailes de Negros."

IV. "Canciones de Trabajo de los Negros."

V. "Crisol Musical."

Narrated by Roberto I. Unanue, Washington, D. C., 1942.

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I. "Canções Tradicionais."

II. "Melodias de Baile e Canções de Amor."

III. "Bailes de Pretos."

IV. "Canções de Trabalho dos Pretos."

V. "Cadinho Musical."

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The Library of Congress and Latin America

THE relations of the Library of Congress with the Latin American republics are of long standing and of a peculiar intimacy. The development of its Latin American collections reflects alike the application of public funds, the provisions of private generosity, the activity of many specialized intelligences and above all the slow passage of time. Their development is not the result of any recent policy of the Library of Congress, nor was it occasioned primarily by the necessities of war service. The beginnings date back at least forty-five years, when the Librarian of Congress, who had then recently entered upon his duties with the potentialities of a new century and a new responsibility before him, published an article in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY of February, 1900 in which he struck two highly prophetic notes. The first of these was concerned with the interest which the Library of Congress was to feel for Latin America and its publications; the second, with the manner of acquiring them.

As the foremost public library in the foremost nation of the western hemisphere, the Library of Congress should contain as well every procurable publication essential to a knowledge of the other nations of this continent and of South America. It is not possible to predict the limit of our interest in these nations, or, perhaps, of our responsibility for them.

The accumulation of a great collection of books requires not merely the maintenance of regular agencies in the chief book marts of the world, but the dispatch, from time to time, of special emissaries to investigate possible opportunities for acquisition by purchase, and to utilize persistently every influence for acquisition by gift.

The Librarian's interest in Latin America is demonstrated by the fact that as early as 1903 his report for the year included in the list of acquisitions a section entitled "Spanish

American history, also works on the West Indies and South America in general."

By 1928, through the generosity of the Hispanic Society of America, funds had been provided for the acquisition exclusively of current Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American materials, and for a consultantship in Hispanic literature, and almost simultaneously with these gifts the Library of Congress custom of Latin American travel for acquisitions purposes was inaugurated. From the Librarian's report of that year: "The first recipient of it [the Hispanic consultantship] is to be Señor Don Juan Riaño y Gayangos . . . His first, much-needed service for us, after a study of our existing collections, will be in connection with a trip to certain countries of South America . . ."

Succeeding annual reports continue in the same vein. In 1937: "Our very important relations with South America, as well as our active dealings with the book market there, have benefited by an extensive trip made during the last year by Dr. Rubio, our consultant in Hispanic, Portuguese and South American literature, during which he visited the capital of practically every state in South America." In 1942: "The Law Librarian visited the law schools and the universities of Mexico and Central America in the fall of 1941 and in the spring and summer of 1942 continued his trip through South America . . . Mr. Vance . . . secured new materials for the Library by purchase and gift . . . Some ten thousand volumes and pamphlets were added to the collections as the direct result of Mr. Vance's journey."

The most recent example of Latin American travel for acquisitions purposes, which forms the subject of the present paper, began in early April 1943 and terminated some eighteen months later. With three exceptions (from Arequipa to Cuzco and from Santiago to Concepción by train, and from Buenos Aires to Montevideo by boat) travel was entirely by plane, from Washington west to Mexico, south along the west coast of South America and north along the east coast in returning to Washington.

A superficial glance might see as the *raison d'être* for a special

effort in Latin America in the spring of 1943 merely the exigencies of war service. Although this necessity did exist as a contributing factor, the essential impetus actually lay far deeper. It assumed two plainly recognizable aspects, somewhat after the fashion in which the fact is recognized that all reasonable philosophic systems labor under the necessity of explaining and reconciling the spiritual and the material aspects of the world. In the same fashion a library's first desire in acquiring a book, a map, a periodical publication, is very properly intellectual, a desire to dovetail, to complete, to add to its collections what will serve to interpret what has previously been acquired. But a decision to embark upon travel for acquisitions purposes has also a bluntly material aspect, and in this case reflected a technical library problem which it is safe to say is shared by all libraries in this country which extend their interest to Latin American affairs.

"I often wonder," wrote the librarian of the University of Texas in one of a group of papers published in 1943 by the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University, "I often wonder why a book seller in some distant South American country should give an order from the University of Texas Library more than a passing thought. Texas is thousands of miles distant from him, and in filling the order he must have the sensation of casting his merchandise into the air with small likelihood of receiving value in return through the complexities of foreign exchange." To this comment, which is no less profoundly acute for having been so casually uttered, may be added some considerations drawn out of the experience of the Library of Congress.

Any quantitative analysis of Latin American materials ordered and received is apt to present a somewhat gloomy picture. Such a study, made item for item for all orders placed by the Library of Congress for a year's period from March 1941 to March 1942 showed above forty per cent of the orders issued as entirely unproductive. It is doubtful if any North American library can show a better record in this field. It is not to be supposed that the material in question

consisted of costly bibliographic rarities, long out of print and admittedly difficult to secure; about half were 1938–1942 imprints, and approximately seventy per cent were for publications issued since 1930.

The reasons for this failure, behind which lies a fruitless expenditure of time and effort consequent upon a large library's highly technical ordering processes, are not far to seek. Fundamentally they stem from the fact that the techniques of book selection and purchasing which are familiar to libraries as having been successfully employed in highly developed areas—the United States, together with England and pre-war Germany, Italy and France—are not applicable to Latin America, and this probably holds true of numerous other underdeveloped geographic areas. The specific Latin American weaknesses as related to library acquisitions are very numerous. They begin with a general scarcity of bibliographic information, which is fatal to conventional library methods of ordering specific items by author and title, since obviously a library cannot buy in this manner if it has no information as to what is being published. The slow, often long delayed availability of bibliographic information, joined with the limited size of most editions in Latin America and the rapidity with which they are exhausted, is the next fatal flaw. The numerous privately printed editions, which appear in numbers far in excess of what would be deduced from experience with countries of longer publishing tradition and greater financial resources, constitute an added weakness. To these difficulties must be joined the general disinterest of book dealers in carrying on business relationships by mail, and the inadequacy of their reports upon material which cannot be supplied. To say all of this is not to criticize sharply or to condemn; it is merely to say that Asunción and Bogotá and La Paz are not New York and London; that the Latin American temper is not the temper of the United States; and that the quality and tempo of life and business relationships in Latin America do not correspond to what libraries in this country have elsewhere learned to expect. It should be stated with emphasis that

there is no element of novelty in these problems. They were not occasioned by the war, although disrupted maritime communications and paper scarcities have tended to accentuate them. They are all difficulties moreover, which—as it should scarcely be necessary to point out—are quite outside the control of any library in this country. No expenditure, in Washington, of intelligence, energy, time and money has combatted them successfully. One is accordingly led, as the Library of Congress has been led, to the perhaps unpalatable but unavoidable conclusion that if any geographic area will not adjust itself to a library and its methods, a library has remaining only the solution of adjusting itself to the area concerned.

A breakdown in current acquisitions in an under-developed area, moreover, is comparatively serious from the standpoint of library economy. A mass of unfilled orders, constituting as it does an unproductive drain upon a library's resources of time and energy, is in itself economically unsound, and, as time passes, and the needed publications become more scarce, more dispersed, more lost to view upon the top shelf of the attic over a publisher's stockroom, more exposed to fire and other hazards, securing them occasions proportionately greater expenditures of time and energy and money. The more efficiently a library maintains its acquisitions of current materials, it is obvious, the less rare and expensive residue will it be obliged to deal with in the future. "Attack is the best defence" is a principle which lends itself to more circumstances than those of war.

The sum total of all these considerations operated powerfully in the direction of a special effort in Latin America in the spring of 1943. The materials to be secured were primarily current, and expensive older material was specifically excluded from the purchasing program except for reports to the Library of Congress upon the availability of such materials. No limitations as to subject or form were imposed, since the principal purpose was to secure the widest possible coverage of material representative of all aspects of Latin American life.

Various specific *desiderata* were to be searched for, as well as numbers of various periodical publications lacking in Library of Congress sets. The resources of the Archive of Hispanic Culture were to be strengthened by the acquisition of large numbers of photographs, principally of architectural subjects, painting, sculpture and folk arts; and this program was later broadened to include photographic postal cards of Latin American cities, their buildings, monuments and parks, as well as landscapes typical of each country. Maps and city plans, old and new, were to be secured wherever available. Exchanges with official and unofficial agencies were to be encouraged, and reports upon such opportunities were to be made to the Library of Congress. A special study was to be made of any collections offered for sale en masse from the point of view of the size and bibliographic nature of the collection, its chronological spread and its special significance. Universities, libraries and cultural institutes in general were to be visited as opportunity offered, and observation made of their book and periodical collections, their methods of cataloging and classification, and the character and extent of their services to readers.

In the course of these varied activities the common North American practice of ignoring all areas of Latin America except the capitals of the various countries was to be disregarded, and an attempt was to be made to secure materials from the provinces and to visit smaller centers which, because of the presence of a university and other institutions of learned interests, promised local publishing activities.

Mexico, the first country to be visited, offered in its annual Book Fair, at which the states of Mexico and their local publications are represented, a unique opportunity for purchasing provincial materials. Partly because of this fact, and partly because the interest of the University of Texas and the University of California in Mexican affairs has rendered it one of the most thoroughly documented Latin American countries so far as North American libraries are concerned, only Guadalajara and Mérida were visited outside of the Federal District.

The isolation of Mérida from the capital, an isolation which the topography of Mexico has caused to persist from colonial times, rendered it of peculiar interest, as did its position as a center of research and publication regarding a product (*henequén*) upon which the war has made great demands. Guadalajara, long eminent as the seat of a university and of the library and archives of the state of Jalisco, offered considerable material of importance. The federal capital, in addition to its own numerous and distinguished publications, afforded special opportunities for acquiring Argentine works which are imported into Mexico in large numbers, thus anticipating by several months the acquisition of material in Buenos Aires. Ask for photographs, the interest of the Archive of Hispanic Culture in the Mexican artists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tended to emphasize photographs of paintings, of the Orozco murals in Guadalajara and of the murals and paintings of collections in the capital.

In Ecuador three cities were visited. The capital, Quito, and Guayaquil, the principal port of Ecuador, afford the best facilities for purchase and for exchange relationships in the field of library materials, both cities being the seat of universities, libraries, museums and numerous federal and municipal offices. In Cuenca; however, which almost since its founding has occupied an eminent position in the literary history of Ecuador, are to be found books and periodical publications which rarely find their way to the shops and arcades of Guayaquil. The isolation of Cuenca, high in the Andes, has placed it in the curious category of cities in which means of communication with the exterior world have shifted from the mule and the llama to the airplane, almost without intermediate stages. It is perfectly illustrative of the intellectual interest characteristic of many of the generally overlooked small centers of Latin America, possessing as it does a well developed but highly self-contained existence, a complete world in miniature of educational and religious establishments and government offices, and able to supply eminent names in the political and literary history of Ecuador. In the field of photography, how-

ever, Quito is of unrivaled importance in the number and splendor of its convents and churches. Guayaquil, on the other hand, long a city of wood and the scene of several disastrous fires during the course of its history, has very little to offer of interest in its architecture and public monuments.

Peru originally centered its intellectual activities in Lima, at an early date the seat of Spain's greatest vice-royalty, and this tradition has persisted until the present time, although universities are situated in several other cities. Arequipa, the second city of Peru in size and political importance, is also second only to Lima in publishing activities; and Cuzco, largely in an experimental mood, was visited also. The topography of Peru and its lack of communication north and south by land have brought it about that Arequipa, together with the southern region of which it forms the center, lies almost entirely outside the sphere of influence exerted by Lima. It provides numerous publications which were not available in the capital. Cuzco, on the other hand, proved disappointing in this respect, of scanty interest so far as present-day publishing is concerned, and providing no stores of older material, in striking contrast to its archeological remains and its historical associations. So far as photographs are concerned, Peru proved to be one of the most fruitful countries in Latin America, its ecclesiastical establishments and secular architecture lending themselves with peculiar appropriateness to the types of photographs desired by the Archive of Hispanic Culture.

In the country next visited, Paraguay, it was believed that only the capital would prove of interest as a publishing center, and this impression was confirmed by the experience of the cultural relations officer at the Embassy in Asunción. Paraguay, long practically a *terra incognita* to North American libraries with the exception of the Gondra collection, which had been acquired by the University of Texas, proved a fertile field for acquisitions. The lack of representation of its current publications in the collections of the Library of Congress had been occasioned principally by the fact that book shops of the type to be found in Asunción do not readily lend themselves to pur-

chasing programs carried on at long range by mail. The pamphlet, moreover, on all subjects but notably on political questions and boundary disputes, which, perhaps from a general scantiness of periodicals as a means of expressing opinion, has always been a highly popular literary form in Paraguay, is a publication of great immediacy and generally local interest, which can be secured only in its own locale. Yet its importance is so great that to ignore the pamphlet in Asunción would be to ignore in many fields the most interesting expression of Paraguayan thought. The photographs acquired in Asunción, again, while not of subjects possessing the intrinsic beauty which distinguishes the architecture of Mexico and the Andean countries, are of special interest from their association with some of the curious circumstances which fill the history of Paraguay, notably the ruins of the Jesuit establishments and the building projects of the successive nineteenth-century dictators.

In Chile efforts were concentrated in Santiago, which the strongly centralized government of Chile has tended to render of first importance as a publishing center. Visits were also paid to Valparaíso and Concepción, both centers of Chilean publishing during the nineteenth century, the importance of which in this respect has, however, greatly declined. Concepción, the seat of a university of importance and an intellectual and commercial center for southern Chile, still affords library materials of great local interest, although the city has not perfectly recovered from the effects of the 1938 earthquake. In the capital the lack of a centralized government printing establishment, official publications being issued by a number of departmental and commercial presses, occasioned some special difficulties in the field of exchange materials. The photographs secured in Santiago and Concepción emphasized the Siqueiro murals, Chilean folk art and the work of the modern school of Chilean painters and sculptors. Photographic postal cards of Santiago's buildings and monuments, and of rural and provincial Chile, proved of exceptionally high quality.

The small territorial size of Uruguay, and the concentration of library and publishing activities in Montevideo, rendered visits to provincial cities of doubtful profit, so that purchasing was confined to the capital. In addition to excellent facilities for the acquisition of all types of library materials, Montevideo offered a notable opportunity for the acquisition of photographs, an extremely full and varied collection being maintained in the Sección Foto-Cinematográfica of the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Previsión Social. The photographic archives of this ministry are of the greatest historical interest, affording as they do material illustrative of all periods in the history of Uruguay—pre-conquest indigenous work in stone, plans of Montevideo during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, views of buildings of the colonial and early republican periods which have since been demolished, the furniture and costumes of the period of independence, and finally the modern city and its monuments.

The eminent position of Buenos Aires as a publishing center, its numerous shops for the distribution of books and periodicals, and the activities of the Cámara Argentina del Libro, all combined to render the capital of Argentina of first importance from the point of view of a library and its interests. Mendoza, Córdoba and La Plata, however, were visited also, and these afforded local publications of marked interest, as well as a clear perception of the fact that Buenos Aires is not alone as a center of book production. The excellent business organization and facilities offered by publishing houses and book shops in the capital appear to have had the unfortunate effect of obscuring the fact that much material, distinguished in both content and format, is issued by provincial presses and does not ordinarily find its way to Buenos Aires. The Argentine universities and their various institutes of investigation and research—at Córdoba, La Plata and Tucumán, the Universidad de Cuyo in Mendoza and the Universidad del Litoral in Rosario—have led the way in publishing in the provinces, but a very considerable output is maintained by presses other than those of universities. Buenos Aires itself, however,

offered unrivaled opportunities for book purchasing, having assumed since the time of the Spanish Civil War an international position as a publishing center for the Spanish-speaking world. In photography also there was available work of high technical quality.

The acquisitions resulting from this travel program in Latin America amounted, by purchase, to 8,445 titles (including books, pamphlets, periodical publications, maps) and 2,348 photographs and photographic postal cards. In addition, 3014 items, generously donated by private and official sources, were accessioned as gift and exchange materials, a considerable proportion of which may be considered as carrying over into the future in continuing series. Notable acquisitions (aside from single items) secured by the Library of Congress as the result of reports upon their availability included the personal collection of Dr. Albert Giesecke of Lima of some 2,500 items, comprising monographic and serial Peruvian publications of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; a collection of some 4,000 Ecuadorian pamphlets and periodicals, ranging in date from 1837 to the present time, which formed part of the collection of Dr. Carlos Rolando of Guayaquil; and a very complete coverage of the period 1900–1910 in Paraguay, in a collection of fifty-four bound volumes of newspapers of the period, embracing files of twenty-two separate titles. A particularly large and generous donation of contemporary Chilean newspapers and periodicals was made by the Press Section of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Santiago.

A check made in the catalogues of the Library of Congress of all the purchased materials upon their receipt in Washington showed a low rate of duplication, varying between twelve and fifteen per cent. The materials secured have accordingly greatly increased the Hispanic collections of the Library of Congress, as well as the general Latin American library resources of the United States. Not a great deal of this material could be considered rare from a bibliographic standpoint, but the conditions of publishing and the book trade in Latin

America are such as to combine to render scarce what is not actively seized upon.

No single effort of the nature just described can be considered as conclusive in its effects upon a library's acquisitions program in a given field, but rather as carrying over into the future only to a somewhat limited extent. It cannot truthfully be stated that, as a result of the very intensive efforts just described, Latin American bibliographies are now being issued in countries where none existed before, that they are being received in the Library of Congress in markedly greater numbers or with greater dispatch, that the services of book dealers have notably improved, or that a larger proportion of materials ordered is now being received. To expect these results would be to misunderstand the possibilities inherent in activity of this type. Two points of difficulty form an inextricable and intractable part of its very nature: it does not serve to alter the fundamental quality of Latin American habit, nor, consequently, the fundamental difficulties inherent in book selection and purchasing from Latin America; and it is essentially retrospective in its nature, a matter of reviewing and accumulating what has been produced in the past, not of anticipating except in a very general way what will become available in the future. It is an advance, a long step upon the road, but upon a road the end of which continually recedes.

MARIE WILLIS CANNON
Head, Hispanic Order Unit

Review of the Quarter

Rare Books Division

IN RECENT reports the significant early pieces of printing in the Rosenwald Collection, notably the 1462 Bible and single leaves from the thirty-six-line Bible, the Canon Missae of 1458, and the 1457 Psalter, have been described. To this group Mr. Rosenwald has now added two other outstanding volumes of typographic excellence which serve further to enhance the prestige of his collection. Both are first editions. They were printed by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, who as a partnership occupy a distinguished place in the annals of early printing. The earlier in date of the two is a perfect copy on vellum of the *Constitutiones* of Pope Clement V, which is dated June 25, 1460. The Rosenwald copy is one of three now in American ownership, the other two being located in the Pierpont Morgan Library and the Walters Art Gallery. The fact that all eighteen surviving copies of this edition located by the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* are vellum copies strongly suggests that the entire edition was so printed. The 1460 Clement, however, is a distinguished book for reasons other than its rarity and its beauty, for it is regarded as the earliest legal compilation in the nature of a code of universal importance. Furthermore, it established the pattern that subsequent printed legal texts were to follow. This pattern was not original with the printers, but represented a successful imitation with types of the form of the mediaeval manuscripts of Roman and canon law wherein the commentary surrounded the text on three or four sides.

The other Rosenwald acquisition is also an early legal text.

This is the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of Pope Bonifacius VIII, printed at Mainz and dated December 17, 1465. This copy on vellum, and also perfect, formerly in the library of Charles W. Clarke, is one of two in America; the Pierpont Morgan Library has the other recorded copy. Of this work, only slightly less rare than the Clement, the Gesamtkatalog locates in all twenty-four more or less complete copies; here again all recorded copies are on vellum. With the exception of the 1459 Durandus in the John Boyd Thacher Collection and the 1462 Bible, these two Mainz volumes are the earliest *dated* books in the Library's possession.

Mr. Rosenwald has added several other incunabula to his collection during the past six months. They are rather less well known than the "monumenta" just described, but they strengthen the Library's collection in several important respects. Two editions of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed respectively at Louvain about 1475 and at Rougemont in 1481, bring the number of fifteenth-century copies of this interesting work in the Library's possession to nineteen.

During this period the Library has acquired another incunable of considerable interest. This is the 1485 Brescia edition of Macrobius' *In Somnium Scipionis Expositio*, which contains a world map primarily interesting for its delineation of the Antipodes. Cicero and later Macrobius both expressed their belief in the existence of a counterearth, which the present map locates and defines. This concept had considerable influence during the Middle Ages, and as another of man's early explanations of the nature of the world in which he lived it is significant. This map first appeared in the Brescia edition of 1483, but the same cut was used in this recently acquired edition of 1485.

Another addition to the Library's incunabula is not a recent acquisition, having been purchased in 1922, but since it is not recorded in the **SECOND CENSUS OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS OWNED IN AMERICA** and since the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* locates uncertainly only one copy, we should like

to describe it briefly. Entitled *Die Vier Uterste*, this is a Dutch translation of THE FOUR LAST THINGS. Printed at Delft by Hendrick Eckert about 1499, it contains five woodcuts, one rather small, and a printer's device. Except for the woodcut of the Crucifixion beneath the title on the first leaf, the cuts illustrate the four last things: Death, Judgment, Hell and Heaven.

Earliest in date of the few sixteenth-century acquisitions is the 1503 illustrated Lyons edition of the *Roman de la Rose*, which Mr. Rosenwald has added to his collection. To the Library's collection of early mathematical works has been added an interesting copy of Adam Reise's *Rechenung nach der lenge auf der Linien und Feder* (Leipzig, 1550), which was probably the most popular commercial arithmetic of the century. According to the late David Eugene Smith, no other book gives as good a picture of the sixteenth-century mercantile problems of Germany, and of the methods of solving them. This 1550 edition, the fourth of Reise's books, represents the culmination of his work. Since the contemporary pig-skin binding carries the author's name on the front cover, it may well have been his personal copy.

The Julian Calendar, introduced by Julius Caesar in 45 B. C., remained in effect throughout the Middle Ages. It was slightly inaccurate, however, and by 1582 the calendar was ten days behind. This divergence was corrected by Pope Gregory XIII, who directed that ten days be suppressed in October of the year just mentioned in order to bring the calendar up to date. This reform was not immediately adopted in all Christian countries, but France was prompt in responding to the reform. Evidence of this is illustrated by a stunning broadside recently purchased. This broadside contains the text of the proclamation by Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen, concerning the introduction of the Gregorian calendar into his diocese. He ordered that ten days in December, December 10 through December 19, be dropped. This proclamation dated November 12, 1582 was printed at Rouen. Red and black types were tastefully used and

the sheet is embellished with the woodcut arms of Pope Gregory, the Cardinal and the King of France. Acquired as a complementary item to this broadside is an interesting volume, the title of which reads: *La Chiave del Calendaro Gregoriano del R. M. Hugolino Martelli . . .* This was printed at Lyons in 1583. The Union Catalog locates only one copy of this book in American ownership.

Two acquisitions of a later period also deserve attention. The first is Fadrique de Toledo's *Relacion del Sucesso del Armada, y Exercito que fue al Soccoro del Brasil* (Madrid, 1625), which relates to the success of the Spanish and Portuguese fleet against the Dutch at Bahia. The Dutch had seized this capital city of Brazil in 1623. The four page account of the expedition describes the recapture of the city and contains the terms of the capitulation.

Finally Joshua Scottow's *OLD MEN'S TEARS* reprinted at New London by Timothy Green in 1769 has been added to the collection of early American imprints. This pamphlet explains the appearance of certain strange diseases in America as the vengeance of Heaven against the prevalence of sin. It was first printed in Boston in 1691 and was reprinted several times during the next century. This is the only edition in the Library's possession.

The Archive of Hispanic Culture

The Archive of Hispanic Culture of the Library of Congress has in the last few months acquired important new material for its collection of photographs and slides of Latin American art, which now numbers some 15,000 items. Among these acquisitions are two groups of photographs of Argentine architecture, the gifts of Señor Mario J. Buschiazza of Buenos Aires. These are particularly interesting in that they include a large number of prints made from lithographs, daguerrotypes and old photographs, showing buildings now demolished, such as the Aduana with its imposing sculptured doorway, or reconstructed, like the handsome Cabildo, which has seemed to

change its appearance every thirty years or so. This gift constitutes a remarkable record of the architectural history of Buenos Aires, and it is to be hoped that in the future the Archive may secure similar material on all the major cities of Latin America.

Through the courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, the Archive was able to have photographs made of a number of pages of the Coyoacán Codex, a rare Aztec manuscript in that collection. This book, of the second half of the sixteenth century, written in the Nahuatl language in Spanish characters and illustrated with portraits of Aztecs in the European style, is a welcome addition to the Archive data on the period of the Conquest.

The International Business Machines Corporation continued its generous policy by presenting twenty-five photographs of colonial silver and furniture from Chile and Peru. Although an increasing number of museums in this country are collecting the decorative arts of Latin America, good photographs, such as these, are still difficult to find.

Twenty-five photographs of the work of Bruno Giorgi, one of the more distinguished sculptors of Brazil, are a significant contribution to the fairly comprehensive collection of contemporary Latin American art already in the Archive. They are the gift of the *Revista Académica* of Rio de Janeiro.

Through library exchange the Archive secured from the Hispanic Society of America ninety photographs of a series of engaging watercolors by Pancho Fierro of Peru. This artist, although somewhat naive and lacking in technical skill, had a genial spirit and a gift for goodnatured caricature. He depicted in lively fashion the people and sights of Lima of the early nineteenth century: soldiers, stout priests and mendicant friars, street vendors, demure young ladies, bull fighters, dancers and the picturesque procession which wound its way through the streets of Lima during Holy Week.

During the quarter the Cuban collection was increased by a number of excellent photographs of buildings of Havana presented by the Corporación Nacional del Turismo. The

Archive received, also through exchange, about sixty snapshots of Uruguayan landscape, including views of the pleasant seacoast and of the agricultural and grazing lands of the interior.

This Uruguayan material is a fine supplement to one of the most representative collections of photographs ever purchased by the Archive. It consists of over three hundred large photographs and several hundred postcards, systematically arranged and listed by the Sección Fotocinematográfica del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Previsión Social, illustrating the history of architecture, sculpture, painting and costume in Uruguay. Like the Argentine material mentioned above, this group is rich in old views taken from lithographs and watercolors, and numerous old maps, all of which provide a fine record of buildings long since done away with, such as the famous Ciudadela, the great fortress of Montevideo. Other forts, still extant, are included in the photographs of colonial architecture, as well as churches, watchtowers, residences with wrought iron balconies and tiled roofs and, surprisingly enough, a windmill. In addition, there is a series of engravings by Gregorio Ibarra, the Argentine emigré, paralleling the work of Pancho Fierro; and, also illustrating life in Uruguay of the last century, a most entertaining group of fashion-plates. It appears that between 1820 and 1830 the well dressed women of Uruguay and neighboring countries chose to wear combs of such exaggerated size that they looked like medieval head-dresses of the more extreme type. These fashion plates are connected with certain caricatures already in the Archive files which show how the tremendous combs became a menace on the street and in the theater, and how a distracted pater-familias instructed workmen to tear down part of the door-frame so that his wife and daughters might go in and out freely. On windy days the combs acted as sails, and the helpless ladies were wafted swiftly down the street pursued by their long-suffering escorts. This collection was acquired through the good offices of Mrs. Marie Cannon, the Library's traveling representative in Latin America.

Sixty photographs of exceptionally high technical quality were purchased from Señor Bodo Wuth in Quito. These provide excellent views of the many churches and monasteries, among them the façade of the Iglesia de La Compañía with its twisted baroque columns. The photographer has also taken many delightful details: a sculptured cherub's head, a garland of stone and a monumental Churrigueresque candlestick, carved with incredible exuberance and covered with gold leaf. This is the first section of a large order placed in Quito; it is to be hoped that the rest will arrive speedily.

In remarkable contrast to the majestic architecture of Quito is another purchase, some twenty photographs of churches in El Salvador, which make it possible to study a number of similar structures in one little known locality. The churches of El Salvador are rather like those of Guatemala—long, low buildings with thick walls as precaution against earthquake damage—but the Salvadorean churches are far less ornate and have a sturdiness and simple charm of their own.

The latest acquisition to arrive includes numerous views of the ruined Jesuit missions of Paraguay. Even in the more remote, forest-covered regions, the Jesuits employed the best architects available, and the Misiones, in spite of their shattered state and the encroaching forest, exhibit a beauty of proportion and a distinction of ornamentation and workmanship which are truly admirable. The photographs of the missions are the last of a number of Paraguayan acquisitions and bring to completion a comprehensive survey of the architecture of that country.

The Archive has also continued to add to its extensive collection of kodachrome transparencies of Latin American art. Notable among the acquisitions in this important field are a number of slides of details of colonial nineteenth-century and modern architecture, painting and sculpture in Costa Rica, Colombia and Ecuador, which the Archive purchased from Mr. John Furbay of Mills College.

Manuscripts

United States: Papers of the Presidents

The Library's large holdings of the papers of the Presidents of the United States represent a long continued effort to increase these collections to the fullest extent. Photostatic copies of four holograph letters of George Washington have been received through the courtesy of the owners of the originals. Of this group the only letter of political concern is that written from Philadelphia, March 6, 1795, to Thomas Johnson, which relates to the appointment of suitable persons to fill vacancies on the board of commissioners of the city of Washington. Three others pertain to social and business matters: they were written December 3, 1797 to Charles Carter; May 4, 1798 to General Henry Lee; and March 5, 1799 to William B. Harrison, respectively.

The acquisition of microfilm copies of the papers of Thomas Jefferson known to exist in other repositories has now been extended to cover Jefferson material in the libraries at Charlottesville, Richmond and Williamsburg, Virginia. From these places the Library of Congress has acquired seventeen reels (of negative and of positive microfilm copies) of papers of, or closely relating to, Jefferson, which extend over the period from October 2, 1769 to April 3, 1850.

Of single papers of men who became President there are to be mentioned a letter from James Madison to Richard Peters, Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, dated August 19, 1789; and an autograph draft of Peters' reply, August 24, 1789. In Madison's letter he outlined six reasons for thinking that the rejected amendments to the Constitution of the United States were desirable.

A letter of John Tyler, May 12, 1852, written from Sherwood Forest, Virginia, to Dr. William Gardner, has to do with Tyler's real estate. The business affairs of Abraham Lincoln are illustrated by two receipts for payment of money due Lincoln & Lamon, February 11, 1853 and August 3, 1854.

A facsimile of a letter of Lincoln to John Hanks, January 28, 1861, has been added to the Lincolniana. To the papers of William Howard Taft, fourteen cartoons have been added.

United States: Cabinet Officers, Diplomats and Statesmen

Great interest attaches to the two volumes of diplomatic correspondence, during the residence of Albert Gallatin at the Court of St. James, May 3, 1826 to October 4, 1827, in the hand of the Secretary to the American legation, William Beach Lawrence. Two other volumes include Lawrence's own letters as chargé d'affaires, October 6, 1827 to October 14, 1828 and later letters. Gallatin's letters deal chiefly with his negotiations to secure full indemnification from England for injuries sustained by citizens of the United States caused by violations of the treaty of Ghent. In his endeavors Gallatin was so successful that President John Quincy Adams, sparing in his praises of men, congratulated Gallatin for his "reason and good temper" used to accomplish the "salutary effect" of his mission. Lawrence's diplomatic correspondence is useful particularly because negotiations were in progress concerning the Northeastern boundary dispute.

Among notable supplements to the papers of American statesmen are the following: The Papers of Charles Sumner have been increased by a group of thirty-three pieces, 1846 to 1874, consisting mainly of letters written by Sumner on political questions. Of economic interest are photostatic copies of four letters of Thaddeus Stevens to Colonel Blanchard, 1855 and 1866, made by permission of the owners. There has been received an interesting letter concerning the genealogy of the Stephens family written by Alexander H. Stephens to James L. Stephens, March 21, 1869. A recently purchased collection of thirty letters written by Hamilton Fish, 1849 to 1891, pertaining to political and social matters, has been added to the Hamilton Fish papers. A notebook and two scrapbooks, 1863 to 1894, relating to the career of William C. P. Breckinridge, have been presented by his daughter. An addition to

the papers of the Riggs family, filling seventeen boxes, 1887 to 1940, and including diaries, legal papers, correspondence and other material of an important nature, is at present restricted.

United States: Naval Affairs

Pertaining to the naval history of the American Revolution, but representing the British point of view, is a letter written by Admiral Samuel Barrington to Lord George Macartney, Governor of Grenada, December 24, 1778. In his letter Admiral Barrington described the movement of the British vessels off the coast of Grenada and the activities of Vice-Admiral John Byron.

For a later period in the naval wars in which the United States was engaged, the period of the quasi-war with France during the administration of President John Adams, the papers of Thomas Truxtun are important. In 1798 and 1799, he commanded a squadron consisting of the U. S. S. *Constellation* and four small vessels stationed in the waters around the West Indies. After Truxtun's capture of the French Frigate *Insurgente*, in February 1799, President Adams expressed a wish that "all the officers had as much zeal." To the Truxtun papers there has been added a group of 185 pieces. The greater part consists of legal documents submitted by the officers and crew of the *Constellation* for the collection of money due them for prizes captured. Included also are sixteen letters written by Truxtun, 1795 to 1820, principally dealing with his career in Philadelphia.

The large collection of papers of Admiral Richmond Pearson Hobson has been augmented through the gift by Mrs. Hobson of a typescript copy of biographical notes on the life of Admiral Hobson prepared by her; and by a memorandum concerning Admiral Hobson by Mr. George H. Hull.

United States: The Civil War

Mr. Barney Balaban, to whom the Library is indebted for the gift of one of the original engrossed copies of the twelve amend-

ments submitted to the states for ratification in 1789, has also presented the telegram in the autograph of President Lincoln which the President sent to General McClellan, at 4 a. m. on September 12, 1862, when the Confederate army under General Lee had crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. The message as delivered to General McClellan by the military telegraph is in the papers of General McClellan. The message reads: "How does it look now?" This message is the third in these identical words that President Lincoln had sent to McClellan in the course of five days.

For the United States Army during the Civil War several groups of material have been received. These include a letter-press copy book of reports written at Camp Chase, in Ohio, by the Commissioners Reuben Hitchcock and Samuel Galloway to the Judge Advocate, September 1, 1862 to June 10, 1863, pertaining to criminal and court-martial proceedings.

Another item is a letter from Edgar F. Brown to his wife, July 27, 1862, in which he described an interview with President Lincoln on the conditions in the Union army as well as the generalship of Halleck, Pope and McClellan. Among the accounts of soldiers and officers is the diary of Patrick Ryan, 132nd Regiment of New York Infantry, extending from May 30, 1862 to June 3, 1865. This one volume diary presents a brief impersonal record of Ryan's services in the Union army in North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia. Perhaps the most important addition to the papers relating to the Civil War is that of the letters of Major James Jenkins Gillette, 1857 to 1887. From this collection one gets a description of social and economic conditions in the South before, during and after the Civil War and Reconstruction. Prior to the Civil War Gillette had gone from New York to peddle pictures in the South and was irked by being dubbed "a drummer." When the Civil War was over, he was attached to the Freedman's Bureau at Vicksburg and Mobile, where he took an active part in the rehabilitation of the Negroes. His letters back home, as well as those of his friend Captain Tom Elliott to Sally Maxwell, are found in the papers.

Charles H. Boyce, of Buffalo, New York, in after years wrote a *History of the 28th Regiment of N. Y. S. Volunteers, Army of the United States* of the Civil War. He had been in "Company B." His manuscript copy of this, together with a collection of cards of admission and reunion badges, has been presented.

Of the recent acquisitions pertaining to the Confederate States of America, there is a little diary, "number 13," of Bushrod W. Hunter, January 4 to April 25, 1861. He writes: "On Sunday I resigned my Commission of Lieutenant in the U. S. Navy on account of the Secession of the State." Another entry reads: "The war commenced and put a stop to my farming and notes forever." In the memorandum book of Charles Henry McManaway, Bedford County, Virginia, who was a justice of the peace from March 10, 1878 to June 1, 1893, there is an account of his Civil War record as well as genealogical notes of the Wright-McManaway families of Virginia. The last of the new accessions pertaining to the Confederacy is a "Report of Committee on Designer of Stars and Bars," presented to the Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, San Francisco, October 22, 1915; and two statements of Miss Jessica R. Smith concerning the Confederate flag.

United States: World War I and Years Following

The Papers of Oscar S. Straus (c. 1856-1926, in 17 box-portfolios) constitute an outstanding acquisition in the field of American history and diplomacy. The manuscript material covering Mr. Straus's activities from 1911 through 1926 is of great interest, especially the volume headed "My Mission to the Peace Conference in Paris, as Chairman of the League to Enforce Peace . . ." and that covering the period of the treaty fight. A diary kept during Mr. Straus's second period of service as Ambassador to Turkey, 1898-1900, is helpful, as are the two volumes of his "Brief Personal Records as Secretary of Commerce and Labor . . .," 1906-1909, and his "random notes" made during the third mission to Turkey, 1909-1910. The collection includes a considerable body of correspondence with Presidents of the United States from Harrison

to Coolidge, that with Theodore Roosevelt being the most voluminous, and with distinguished American and European public men of the time.

An extremely valuable collection of Woodrow Wilson correspondence, 1906–1912, has been acquired by the Library. Thirty-three letters, three of them holograph and many written by Wilson on his own typewriter, are addressed to Colonel George B. M. Harvey, later Ambassador to Great Britain; five to Willis F. Johnson; and one to Herbert E. Bowen. Two holograph letters from Mrs. Wilson to Harvey are included, as well as a few typewritten copies of letters, and miscellaneous printed matter. The correspondence throws new light upon Harvey's early backing of Wilson for the presidency, the curious "break" between the two men, and Wilson's point of view upon the whole episode.

The first installment of a distinguished collection—the Papers of Major General James Guthrie Harbord—has been received, in forty-one bound volumes. While the period covered is 1886–1938, most of the material concerns the General's service during and soon after World War I, including his activities as Chief of Staff of the A. E. F. Volumes of correspondence with and papers pertaining to General Pershing and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker are included, as well as correspondence with other military men of the period. Ten volumes contain records of the A. E. F. Second Division in France, 1917–1919; nine volumes contain translations of the war diaries of German Units opposed to the Second Division; and three volumes comprise the file of *THE STARS AND STRIPES*, official newspaper of the A. E. F. Much of the miscellaneous matter, such as war maps, photographs, memoranda, commissions, etc., is of historical interest.

Records of women's activities during World War I are gradually accumulating in the Division of Manuscripts, one of the recent acquisitions in the field being the Papers of Emma L. George (fifty-one pieces, 1915–1920) bearing upon the work of the Woman's Land Army of America, and the American Society for the Relief of French War Orphans.

The Library has received, through the kindness of Dr. Victor S. Clark, mimeographed and typewritten copies of confidential reports, financial statements and other data, as well as correspondence, relating to the Institute of Current World Affairs. The papers are valuable for a study of the world situation from 1928-1943, with especial reference to the underlying causes of World War II.

United States: Economic History

Despite wartime conditions, rapid growth of our collections in the field of economic history has continued unabated. Representative of the Colonial period are two volumes from the papers of John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia, marked respectively "Bankers Book," October 20, 1764 to May 20, 1784, and "Ware-House Book," 1771 to 1777. These two volumes afford an insight into the financial system and the shipping procedures that prevailed in the commerce between England and Virginia, and between the English factor and his banking house. A string of warehouses was built along the rivers of Virginia where public inspectors valued the tobacco and gave the planter a certificate of value. These warehouse receipts were negotiated and accepted as a medium of exchange in both England and America.

The Library has purchased copies of sundry memoranda, legal documents and correspondence pertaining to claims of John David Woelpper in Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio. This collection in one volume presents a history of the claims for lands which passed to the estate of Woelpper, who died in Philadelphia in 1809. The claims involved were for land to be granted under the Royal Proclamation of 1763, or later for lands granted by authority of the Continental Congress and the Congress of the United States.

Useful for the study of American trade with China and the Philippines in the days of the clipper ships is a collection of 184 manuscripts, 1837 to 1887, from the papers of Stephen C. Phillips and Willard P. Phillips, his son, of Salem, Massachu-

setts. In the collection are fifty-five letters written by William Henry Osborn, an agent, stationed in Manila and in China, 1844 to 1852, and twenty-three letters by his brother Joseph Warren Osborn, on his numerous voyages to the Philippines and China, 1842 to 1850. Their letters, combined, present a picture of the buying and shipping side of Oriental-American trade. Included in the collection are letters from mercantile firms in New York, Boston and elsewhere. There are several letters of Stephen C. Phillips and his son.

Dealing with economic history is another collection of eleven account books, journals and ledgers of the general stores and blacksmith shops operated at Hampden Corner, Maine, 1838 to 1889, by Hiram Sylvester and Jesse C. Rines. These volumes serve as a social survey for the town of Hampden Corner and for the county of Penobscot, providing data as to the cost of labor, the prices of various commodities bought and sold or repaired at the establishments of Rines and Sylvester. With the passing of the local blacksmith shops such records as these become more highly prized.

Local History: Washington, D. C.

A long-honored custom has made the Division of Manuscripts the depository for much material relating to the early history of the District of Columbia. Thus are included in the year's acquisitions a volume of "Proceedings of Tammany Society of Washington City, August 1, 1807 to June 1, 1810." The Society was organized in compliance with requests from a number of "Democratic citizens of Washington" to enable them to build a "Wigwam."

Literary Manuscripts

Among literary manuscripts recently acquired is a collection of 114 letters and notes from the papers of Wendell Phillips, extending from 1843 to 1884. They were written principally by Phillips to Frank J. Garrison, and relate to current problems of reform, to publications, or to Phillips' speaking engagements.

A contemporary of Phillips was Thomas Lake Harris, of New York, whose papers, extending from c. 1858 to 1892, fill four manuscript boxes. Included in the Harris collection are copies and drafts of several of his well known writings, such as "Arrows of the Sun," "God's Breath of Man," "Battle of the Bells," and other poems that have been set to music. There are also copies of letters from Robert J. Gilliard to Harris, and other material pertaining to spiritualism.

A supplement to the papers of Walt Whitman in the Division of Manuscripts is found in fourteen letters addressed to Whitman, or his mother, between 1863 and 1891, written principally by members of the family. Many of these will be of biographical interest. In connection with Whitman there has been received a typewritten copy of the "Reader's Hand Book to Leaves of Grass" by William Sloane Kennedy, published in 1926, back-titled THE FIGHT OF A BOOK FOR THE WORLD.

Other literary accessions include a letter of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, written at Cambridge, March 8, 1874, to the Baroness Josephine Knorr, in which Longfellow expressed his appreciation for copies of poems received from her. Of no less interest is a photostatic copy of a letter from John McRae, signed "Jack," to Carlton Noyes, May 31, 1916 and also a photostatic copy of "In Flanders Fields" in McRae's own hand, enclosed in a letter, in which McRae described the enthusiastic acceptance of the poem by the public. Three letters of Bret Harte to Antoinette Sterling Mackinlay, May 16, 1887, May 31, 1898 and one undated, all of social and literary concern, have been acquired.

Other items in the field of Americana are four volumes of typewritten copies of notes and unpublished writings of Edward Bellamy, the author of LOOKING BACKWARD, and a carbon copy of a biography of Bellamy by Mason A. Green. Nineteen items from the papers of Charles Townsend Copeland pertain to the publication of THE COPELAND READER in 1925. An autograph document of twenty-two pages is EDGAR LEE MASTERS: AN APPRECIATION, by John Cowper Powys.

By far the largest collection of Americana relating to nature studies received during the year is that of the papers of Albert Payson Terhune in eighteen manuscript boxes. There are approximately 580 pieces that consist mainly of his writings on dogs and include series of his articles such as "Calling All Dogs," and "Tales of Real Dogs," well-known to all lovers of dogs; and selections from Spratt's Radio Program in which Terhune participated. In addition to his own papers there is a manuscript and a typewritten copy of "The Best Terhune I Knew," by Anice Terhune.

Another addition to the papers of Robert Green Ingersoll, which range in date from 1811 to 1935, comes as a welcome gift. This group includes several of Ingersoll's own letters of autograph value as Abraham Lincoln, Victor Hugo, Jean Baptiste Camille Corot, Gioachino Antonio Rossini, Ernst Haeckel and Woodrow Wilson. The bulk of the collection consists of manuscript drafts of Ingersoll's writings in his hand. The manuscripts, photographic, phonographic and printed material fills eight manuscript boxes.

To the papers of the Honorable Archibald MacLeish the following have been added: Speech at Freedom House, November 28, 1944, introducing the Honorable Sumner Welles; the speech of Mr. Welles at Freedom House; photostatic copy of a letter from Ralph Munn, December 27, 1944, congratulating Mr. MacLeish for his successful leadership in the administration of the affairs of the Library of Congress; and a typewritten carbon copy of an address of Mr. MacLeish, C. B. S., Summer Symphony, September 13, 1942.

Peru in the Seventeenth Century

The Library has received, by exchange, fourteen negative photostats of five documents (1609–1813) relating to the Fine Arts in Peru, from the private collection of the Peruvian architect, Emilio Harth-Terré. The earliest, written in 1609, immediately following the earthquake of that year, is a report by

the architect Fr. Gerónimo de Villegas on the advisability of altering the vaulting of the cathedral of Lima. A second document reports an inspection in 1667 by the archbishop, Dr. Don Pedro de Villagomez, of a plot belonging to the Convent of Santa Catalina in Lima which was to be sold for houselots. It includes a plan with streets as laid out by the archbishop.

Orientalia Division

By action of the Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, a fund of one hundred dollars was set up to pay for petty cash orders from India for microfilms of scholarly documents. The transactions have been carried through by cooperation of the American Council of Learned Societies, the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State and the Library of Congress. Six orders have been filled during the first year of the existence of the fund. One Indian scholar has responded with a gift to the Library through the Department of State of five rare copper *mudrās* or seals with insignia used by the Vaishnava worshippers of India. The symbols may be imprinted on the skin of the forehead, temples or upper arms in pigment, or branded into the skin through a thin wet cloth. The use and manufacture of these seals seem to have died out, and they can no longer be bought with any kind of payment. One of the seals has the Pythagorean hexagram. Another contains an abbreviated formula or mantra which has not yet been deciphered. The others have standard Indian designs.

Three hundred and forty-four items, representing new titles and including fourteen microfilms, on India, Tibet, Ceylon, Burma and Southeast Asia, have been received in the current quarter.

The following subjects and regional fields are strongly represented: Philippines, Burma, Ceylon, geography and description, industry, literature, government and politics, periodicals and philosophy and religion.

Acquisitions of special interest are:

BURMA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Appleton, Geo. BUDDHISM IN BURMA. Bombay, Longmans, Green and Co., 1943. 44 pp.

A brief but reliable account of the practices of Southern Buddhism in Burma. Third in a series of Burma pamphlets.

Carripiett, W. J. S. THE KACHIN TRIBES OF BURMA, FOR THE INFORMATION OF OFFICERS OF THE BURMA FRONTIER SERVICE. Rangoon, Government Printing and Stationery, 1929. viii, 119 pp.

A sociological presentation including significant material on the customary law of the Kachins.

Gray, James. ANCIENT PROVERBS AND MAXIMS FROM BURMESE SOURCES; OR THE NITI LITERATURE OF BURMA. London, Trubner and co., 1886. xii, 179 pp. [Microfilm.]

The anthology has four divisions: the Lokaniti, proverbs about everyday life; Dhammaniti, about the religious law; Rajaniti, about government; Suttavaddhananiti, recent collection from the Buddhist canon.

Great Britain. Straits Settlement. Statistics Department. MALAYAN STATISTICS, JUNE 1938. Singapore, Government Printing Office, 1938. lxi, 168 pp.

Valuable for facts and figures regarding commerce and industry.

Head, W. R. HANDBOOK ON THE HAKA CHIN CUSTOMS. Rangoon, Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1917. 49 pp.

A worthwhile monograph dealing with the practices and conventions of a Northern Chin people living in west-central Burma near the Indo-Burman border.

Hospitalier, Julien Joseph. *Grammaire laotienne*. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, P. Geuthner, 1937. viii, 270 pp.

A book which will prove useful to one dealing with the Laos language of Indochina.

Mariner, William. AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES OF THE TONGA ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN. WITH AN ORIGINAL GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THEIR LANGUAGE. COMPILED AND ARRANGED FROM THE EXTENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS OF MR. WILLIAM MARINER. Edited by John Martin, London, T. Davison, 1817. 2 v.

An ethnological study of the people of the eastern outpost of Melanesia, the Fiji archipelago. A grammar and dictionary of the Tonga language are in volume two.

BURMA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA—Continued.

Neelakandha Aiyer, K. A. INDIAN PROBLEMS IN MALAYA, A BRIEF SURVEY IN RELATION TO EMIGRATION. Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States, "The Indian" Office, 1938. viii, 150 pp.

Presents material on the labor, economic, political and emigration problems of the Indian in Malaya. The author was secretary of the Central Indian Association in Malaya.

Robequain, Chas. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA. Translation by Isabel A. Ward; Supplement: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA, 1939–1943 by J. R. Andrus and K. R. C. Greene. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, London, Oxford University Press, 1944. 400 pp.

A valuable source now made available in English. Originally published in 1939 as *L'évolution économique de l'Indochine française*.

INDIA

Appadorai, A. DEMOCRACY IN INDIA. (Oxford pamphlets on Indian Affairs, no. 5.) Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1944. 32 pp.

Barua, Birinchi Kumar. ASSAMESE LITERATURE. Bombay, published for the P. E. N. All-India centre, by the International Book House, Ltd. 1941. 102 pp.

The first book on a little known field.

Crawford, John. LETTERS FROM BRITISH SETTLERS IN THE INTERIOR OF INDIA, DESCRIPTIVE OF THEIR OWN CONDITION, AND THAT OF THE NATIVE INHABITANTS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. London, J. Ridgway, 1831. 98 pp.

John Crawford was one of the most astute observers of his time. This rare edition is another highly interesting account of life in the Orient in the early days of the East India Co.

Dharmarājā Dīkshita. *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*; edited, with an English translation, by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. Adyar, The Adyar Library, 1942. 216 pp.

Dunn, John Alexander. INDIAN MINING, A CONCISE HANDBOOK FOR LAYMEN AND SPECIALISTS. Calcutta, The Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India, 1943. 262 pp.

Emeneau, Murray Barnson. KOTA TEXTS. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944.

The first of a series of important contributions to our knowledge of Indian folklore.

Ghurye, Govind Sadashiv. THE ABORIGINES—"SO-CALLED"—AND THEIR FUTURE. Poona, published by D. R. Gadgil for the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1943. 232 pp.

A reliable account of some of the tribal groups of India.

INDIA—Continued.

India. INDIA'S PART IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF WAR. Delhi, Government of India Press, 1944. 40 pp.

A good record.

Lokanathan, P. S. INDUSTRIALIZATION. (Oxford pamphlet on Indian affairs, no. 10.) Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1944. 32 pp.

Mahābhārata. THE BHAGAVAD GīTĀ; translated and interpreted by Franklin Edgerton . . . Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1944.

Students of the GīTĀ and those reading it for the first time will find this an incomparable tool.

Rau, C. V. Shankar. A GLOSSARY OF PHILOSOPHICAL TERMS (SANSKRIT-ENGLISH) (EMBRACING ALL SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY). Madras, Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Press, 1941.

Sarma, K. Madhava Krishna. AKABARASAHI-SRINGARADARPANA OF PADMASUNDARA. Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Library, 1943. 60 pp. (Ganga Oriental Series, No. 1.)

Sūrya Kānta, ed. LAGHURKTANTRASAMGRAHA AND SĀMSAPTALAKṢĀNA, EDITED FOR THE FIRST TIME, WITH COMMENTARY, NOTES, INTRODUCTION, EMBODYING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE NOMENCLATORY GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE AND INDICES. Lahore, India, Mehar Chand Lachman Das. 1940.

Swavely, Clarence H., ed. ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE ANDHRA COUNTRY, HISTORY OF THE INDIA MISSION OF THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, 1842-1942. Madras, S. India, The Diocesan Press, 1942.

Vijayaraghavacharya, Sir T. THE LAND AND ITS PROBLEMS. (Oxford pamphlets on Indian affairs, no. 9.) Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1944. 32 pp.

The series of Oxford pamphlets on India present a very complete though brief picture of India.

Serials Division

Received by gift is THE PALMETTO HERALD-EXTRA, Port Royal, S. C., v. 1, no. 7, April 18, 1864. This weekly paper was established by S. W. Mason & Co. March 3, 1864, "to make a truthful record of all news, proper for publication, in the Department of the South, and among the fleets of the South Atlantic Squadron." The Library of Congress file now includes March 3, 17, 24, 31, April 18 extra and October

13, 1864. The issues contain military and naval items of the time and place. Pages 4 of the issues of March 24 and 31 are headed "Steamer Edition March 26 and April 2."

The Serials Division has received nine volumes of JACKSON'S OXFORD JOURNAL, a weekly published at Oxford, England, by William Jackson. These volumes include February 23, 1793–December 26, 1801, January 5, 1805–December 27, 1806, lacking only a few issues. Authorities disagree as to the exact date of establishment of the JOURNAL. THE HISTORY OF BRITISH JOURNALISM, by Alexander Andrews, gives 1740; Crane and Kaye indicate 1753; and the TERCENTENARY HANDBLIST OF ENGLISH & WELSH NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES & REVIEWS, published by THE TIMES, London, specifies May 5, 1753. As stated in the JOURNAL, Jackson continued as publisher until his death "at age upwards of Seventy," April 22, 1795.

The Journal contains much material on the later years of the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings ending in his acquittal April 23, 1795.

Another early English newspaper file in our collection, The COURIER, London, has been strengthened by the addition of 136 issues in 1806. It now includes 1802–1810 incomplete; 1811–1813; May 17, 1814–December 31, 1828; 1831–1833 incomplete.

